Who's Obscene? *An Editorial*

The Nation

Vol. CXXX, No. 3373 Founded 1865 Wednesday, February 26, 1930

The Hughes Rebellion

by Paul Y. Anderson

The Christian Science Censor

III. Freedom of the Press

by Henry Raymond Mussey

Rupert Hughes's "George Washington"

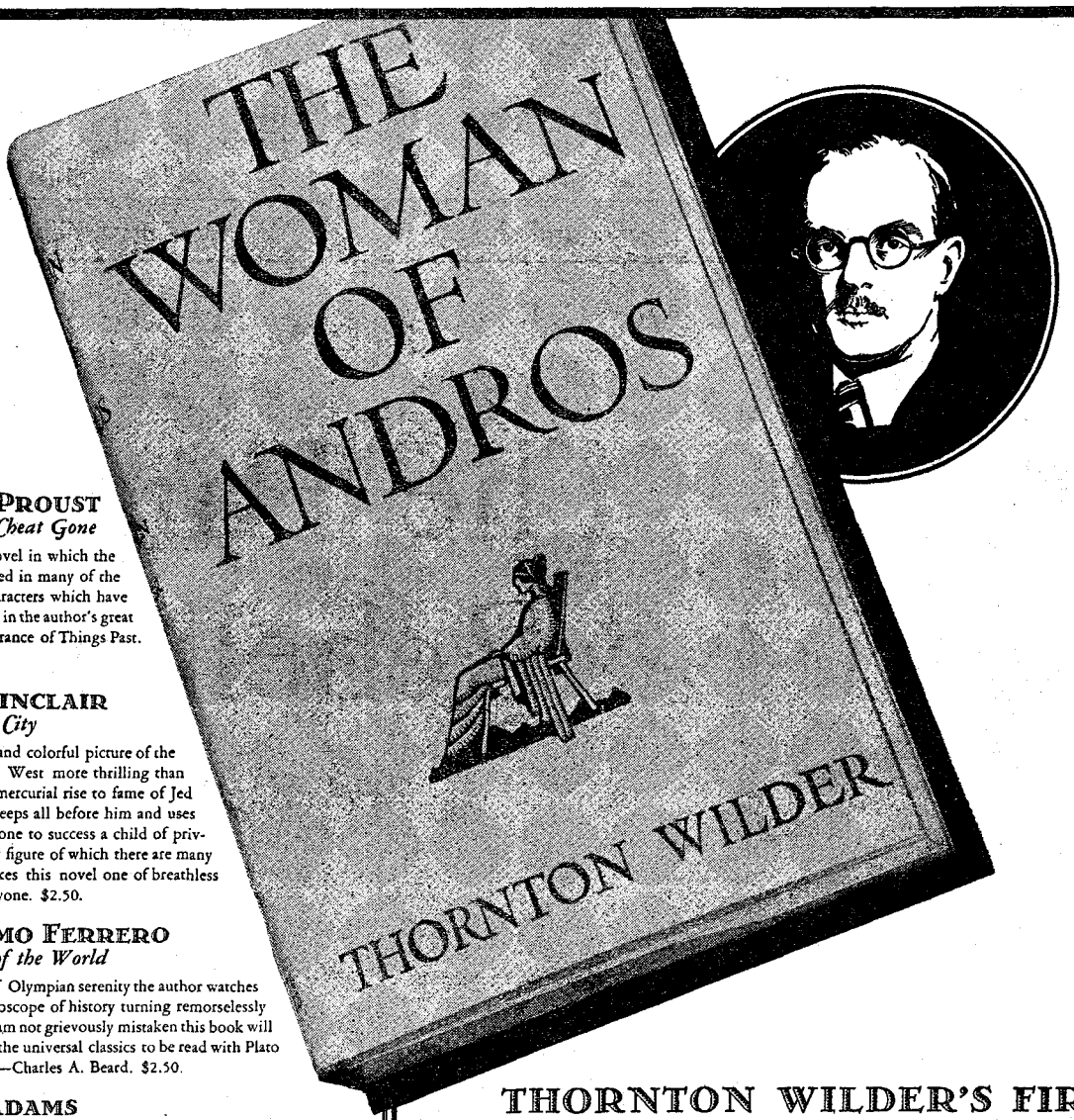
reviewed by Claude G. Bowers

Fifteen Cents a Copy Five Dollars a Year

Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright, 1930, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



MARCEL PROUST
The Sweet Cheat Gone

A complete novel in which the climax is reached in many of the lives of the characters which have been delineated in the author's great work, Remembrance of Things Past. $3.00.

UPTON SINCLAIR
Mountain City

A fast-moving and colorful picture of the middle and far West more thrilling than was Oil! The mercurial rise to fame of Jed Rusher who sweeps all before him and uses as a stepping stone to success a child of privilege, a pathetic figure of which there are many prototypes, makes this novel one of breathless interest to everyone. $2.50.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO
The Unity of the World

"With a kind of Olympian serenity the author watches the great kaleidoscope of history turning remorselessly on its axis. If I am not grievously mistaken this book will become one of the universal classics to be read with Plato and Aristotle."—Charles A. Beard. $2.50.

HENRY ADAMS
History of the United States during the Administrations of Madison and Jefferson

This work — the most masterly yet written on the formative period of the history of the American people—is now for the first time available in four handsome pocket-sized volumes at a popular price. Fully indexed and with 23 maps in color. Madison, 2 vols. $5.00 — Jefferson, 2 vols. $5.00

AN ANTHOLOGY OF WORLD POETRY
Edited by Mark Van Doren

"Spans five thousand years and the circumference of the globe. The translators are themselves poets, from Chaucer to F. P. A. ...one can read from cover to cover — a test no anthology was ever expected to bear." — The Forum.
$5.00—2nd hundred thousand.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS
Our Business Civilization

"With a brilliant sure touch, Mr. Adams lays bare the diseased tissues of the body politic and in a series of profoundly stimulating essays, suggests the cure." — The Outlook. $3.00

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA
Edited by Mark Van Doren

"Should be one of the best sellers of all time. Every home with any pretensions to a library should possess a copy. The most interesting and informative work on American history I have ever read." — Burton Rascoe. $5.00

THORNTON WILDER'S FIRST NOVEL SINCE THE BRIDGE OF SAN LUIS REY.

JUST PUBLISHED • $2.50 AT ALL BOOKSTORES

THE *Woman of Andros* is a story of simple village people and in this offers a striking contrast to Thornton Wilder's earlier novels. His publishers hope and expect that his public will be as delighted with it as they are themselves. Obviously, a new book by Thornton Wilder is an event of first importance in the world of letters, but a very special pleasure is in store for the many thousands who will read it. In thought and execution it is like a finely-cut gem and produces a rare emotion.

The story is founded on a situation in Terence's The Andria and the scene is laid on a little island in the Aegean. Love and Death are the predominating themes in the fabric; Thornton Wilder has woven it; and the result is a work of the finest craftsmanship as well as one of those stories that invade the human heart and mind because they are universal and compelling.

William Lyon Phelps says "the style is full of subtle cadences and harmonies," and that "no one but a consumate literary artist could have written the book". And the author himself writes: *"The Woman of Andros* asks whether Paganism had any solution for the hopeful inquiring sufferer, and — by anticipation — whether the handful of maxims about how to live that entered the world with the message of Christ were sufficient to guide one through the maze of experience."

ALBERT & CHARLES BONI, 66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1930 No. 3373

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 231
EDITORIALS:
Grave News from London 233
President Hoover's First Year 234
Facing Unemployment 235
Who's Obscene? 236
A Neighbor Returns 236
IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN 237
THE HUGHES REBELLION. By Paul Y. Anderson 238
MUST BANKS FAIL? By J. G. Curtis 239
THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CENSOR: III. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. By Henry Raymond Mussey 241
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 244
CORRESPONDENCE 244
BOOKS, MUSIC, DRAMA:
Mid-Voyage. By Isidor Schneider 246
Mr. Wilder Turns to Terence. By Henry Hazlitt 246
Brutalities Under Mussolini. By Hiram Motherwell 246
The Truth About Washington. By Claude G. Bowers 248
The Man Ibsen. By Lee M. Hollander 248
The Poetry of Léonie Adams. By Eda Lou Walton 249
Rabelais. By Eliseo Vivas 250
The Student Volunteer. By Walter Kien 252
Music: Four Moderns. By Hubbard Hutchinson 252
Drama. The Unruffled Mrs. Tyler 254
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 252
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Forced Labor in Liberia 256

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DOROTHY VAN DOREN ARTHUR WARNER
Dramatic Editor Literary Editor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH HENRY HAZLITT
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

THAT WAS AN EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH which Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made on February 9, especially directed at the American and Canadian radio audiences listening to him on that Sunday afternoon. After pointing out that the United States spends more for armaments than any other great Power—$879,000,000 annually—and Great Britain $175,000,000 more than in 1913, before the successful war to end war, he stressed the fact that, with the exception of Germany, every other great Power is spending more than before the war, with a total war expenditure for armaments of $4,500,000,000 a year. Already, he declared, Great Britain has spent some $50,000,000,000 on its part in that colossal tragedy without counting the loss of the productive power of the men killed and of those who were for four years withdrawn from industry. At the present rate, he said, it will take 140 years to liquidate the British war debt. Today England must raise for debt purposes "$5,000,000 every day, $200,000 every hour, $3,000 every minute." He added that "it takes the whole-time labor of 2,000,000 workers year in and year out to pay the annual cost of our debt burden." Add to this the present cost of armaments and pensions, and Great Britain has to provide $5,000 a minute for war purposes. Three-quarters of its taxes are spent in paying for past wars and preparing for future wars. Yet there are many people in England and the United States who believe that nations can have no other method of settling international disputes than by continuing to burn up their resources in wars.

THE SENATE never did a better job than when, on February 17, it struck straight at the monopoly of the Aluminum Company of America, the chief owner of which is our sanctimonious Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew W. Mellon. It is true that the action was made possible only by two votes, the roll call standing 41 to 39, but that was sufficient to reduce the present duty of 5 cents a pound on crude aluminum to 2 cents. Next the Senate voted without a roll call to lower the duty of 9 cents on aluminum bars, sheets, and coils to 3½ cents, and by a vote of 41 to 30 it restored the pre-war tariff of 25 per cent ad valorem on aluminum kitchen and household utensils. If these rates remain in the bill when it is finally passed the result will be felt in every household in America which uses aluminum ware. Every such family has been robbed for years merely because of the political influence of the chief owner of the trust. The aluminum duty was raised from 2 to 5 cents per pound in 1922, and the trust promptly raised the price of the metal 3 cents per pound to every American citizen, while bauxite and carborundum, materials used by the trust, were kept on the free list—so ardent a protectionist is Mr. Mellon when his own pocket is involved! The Senate made one mistake; it should have put the whole business on the free list.

PROHIBITION IS UNDER FIRE as never before, and the friends and enemies of the system are massing their forces for a fight the end of which is not yet. The first of the so-called Hoover "reforms," the transfer of the enforcement machinery from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice, has been approved by the House of Representatives and seems likely to be accepted by the Senate. The Wickersham proposal for the virtual abolition of jury trial in certain classes of liquor cases has, however, awakened an imposing volume of protest, and Congress has thus far shown little interest in a step which many lawyers believe would be a direct violation of the Constitution. Hearings before the Judiciary Committee of the House, which began on February 12, have brought out a mass of testimony regarding the failure of the system, some of the most impressive statements and arguments being offered by representatives of national organizations of women who are opposed to prohibition and demand a popular referendum on the question. Meantime the newspapers carry columns of news of prohibition raids and wholesale arrests, the federal courts are swamped with prohibition cases, and prohibition agents and the Coast Guard go on shooting and being shot in support of the "noble experiment." Senators Wheeler and Norris have offered resolutions asking a Senate inquiry into the whole enforcement situation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SUPER-PATRIOTIC D. A. R., self-constituted guardian of our liberties and detector of treason and heresy afar off, has again come in for drastic criticism from one of its members, the critic this time being no less a person than Dr. Valeria H. Parker of New York, honorary president of the National Council of Women and long prominent in work for better social hygiene. Dr. Parker, who frankly states that she has "not been in sympathy with organization policies for several years," has resigned her membership in the Hartford, Connecticut, chapter in a letter sharply arraigning the course of the National Board of Management. The circulation of lists of alleged disloyal individuals and organizations, "unwarranted charges" against the United States Children's Bureau, sponsorship of "men who have been publicly convicted of unethical activities" as advisers and public speakers, repression of opportunities for "frank expression of members," and "active support of extensive armament programs" are the principal points of Dr. Parker's indictment. Mrs. Lowell Fletcher Hobart, president-general of the D. A. R., flippantly suggests that Dr. Parker may have "wanted publicity." She makes no bones of admitting that the D. A. R. is opposed to pacifism and wants "a sufficient force" to insure "adequate protection." She declares "we have got to keep this country for Americans."

WE PRINT ELSEWHERE A LETTER in regard to the proposal of Congressman Hamilton Fish, Jr., to enlarge the reservation at West Point by no less than seventeen hundred acres. Since our correspondent wrote to us, we understand, Mr. Fish has consented to strike from his plans the lands adjacent to the town of Cornwall and the Stillman forest. But that is not enough. The whole project should be abandoned, if only because it is another unhappy illustration of the way we are increasing our military establishment at the moment we are in a conference for the reduction of naval armaments and have given in the Kellogg pact our sacred word as a nation that we shall not engage in international warfare hereafter. The contention of the authorities at West Point is that the academy needs, beside more room for artillery practice, an additional water supply, especially as a new apartment house is being built to lodge seventy more officers. Instead of increasing the water supply West Point should cut down the cadet corps and the number of instructors, with the idea that it shall eventually become a great civilian school. West Point is one of the most heavily over-staffed colleges in the world. It is time to call a halt in teaching the art of man-killing.

A NEW YORK BOARD OF PAROLE entirely separate from the correctional department of the State and made a part of the executive department is the recommendation of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt's special committee on the parole problem, the chairman of which is Sam A. Lewisohn. This board, which would replace the five different parole systems now obtaining in New York, would be freed from custodial duties, it would be able to devote its whole time, with the aid of a properly chosen and trained staff, to administering the parole system, and it would be in a position to assist the Governor in the matter of pardons. The committee has been guided in its recommendations, the details of which are set out at length in its report, by two principles: first, that while "discipline and authority must be maintained by the State under all circumstances in dealing with its prisoners," there is no necessary conflict "between the exercise of discipline and authority and humane and constructive treatment"; and, second, that, while good behavior and a desire for rehabilitation in the community should be recognized and compensated, "we should also vigorously refuse to be swayed by sentiment toward those who are unwilling to accept and abide by prison discipline and authority, or those who because of physical or mental disabilities would be unable on their release to adjust themselves to the requirements of society." The committee points out, however, that "laws, courts, prisons, executive clemency, parole, and readjustment" are all parts of a common program, and that they must work together if the crime problem is to be solved. The report is so sensible that it is hard to see how the Legislature can find fault with it.

A SURPLUS OF PRISONS and jails is the agreeable situation with which the British Home Secretary, J. R. Clynes, is confronted. With only half as many prisons now as there were a century ago, and with not fewer than twenty-seven closed since 1911, Mr. Clynes now proposes to close a number of others to prevent the supply from exceeding the demand. "We are able to pull down the prisons," he is quoted as saying, "partly because we have fewer wrongdoers and partly because we keep the people out of such places unless it is absolutely necessary." Slow-going Britain, which incidentally seems to be a stranger to the "third degree," sees crime and criminals on the wane, while alert and up-to-date America multiplies its criminal statutes, crowds its prisons and jails with offenders, and arrests suspected persons by the hundreds or thousands in spectacular raids. The other day County Judge McLaughlin of Brooklyn regretfully sentenced one Patsy Destasio, thirty-two years old and the father of five children, to a term of fifteen to sixteen years in Sing Sing for taking part in a theft of $180. Destasio was thirty-two years old instead of under thirty, and the notorious Baumes laws made a prison rather than a reformatory sentence mandatory. How long will it be before the United States ceases to multiply criminals by turning its back on humanity and common sense?

TWO WEEKS AGO we said that the victory of the Illinois mine workers' district officers in the State court against President John L. Lewis's attempt to put them out of office points to a possible new alignment in the labor-union world. But more than one court decision is necessary before possibility becomes actuality. Entirely aside from any legal questions that remain unsettled it is still possible that these sworn enemies will kiss and make up—such things have happened before in the United Mine Workers' Union—that the Illinois leaders will lack the capacity and idealism to take proper advantage of the situation, or that they will not keep the confidence of the rank and file. Certain reports which we have recently received seem to show that Lewis's charges against the Illinois leaders whom he tried to remove were not altogether baseless. Some of the acts of President Fischwick's administration in Illinois require a great deal of explaining to the rank and file. So, too, does the prominence of ex-President Farrington in the anti-Lewis movement after his three years of employment by a great coal company. Finally there is the hard fact that the Illinois administration

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by silence or open support gave aid and comfort to President Lewis in some of the very acts which its spokesmen now justly hold against him. To say this is not for a moment to whitewash John L. Lewis. Neither is it to deny that there is a real opportunity for progressive unionism in the break between him and the Illinois district. It is to call attention to the old, old story that in union as in civic politics it is not enough "to throw the rascals out."

A STRIKING TESTIMONY to the value of labor organization under intelligent leadership is contained in the news of the past week. On the one hand we have the successful outcome, under the mediation of Lieutenant-Governor Lehman, of the eight-day strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the New York dress-making industry; on the other, the report of the Federal Council of Churches on conditions in the non-union steel industry. The conditions of settlement in the dress industry offer promise of stabilization, to the advantage at once of the workers, the employers, and the public. The jobbers are to confine their work to members of the contractors' association, who employ only union labor, thus putting an end to the inroads of the sweatshop and strengthening the competitive position of the inside manufacturers, who maintain the prize labor conditions of the industry. Compare the steel industry. For years it fiercely resisted all attempts to get rid of the twelve-hour day, finally yielding in 1923 only after terrific outside pressure. The Federal Council's report covers 155 plants employing more than 248,000 men in all. Of these men, 46.6 per cent are working eight hours a day, 44.6 per cent ten, 2.1 per cent eleven, and 6.7 per cent twelve hours. Only 20.6 per cent enjoy a week of five or five and a half days; 52.5 per cent work six days, and 26.9 per cent seven days a week. Four-fifths of them thus spend six or seven days a week at the furnace or in the mill, where common labor in a majority of cases gets from thirty-five to forty-five cents an hour, say twenty-seven dollars for a six-day sixty-hour week. Contrast these figures with the five-day, forty-hour week of the dressmakers, and the ordinary operators' scale of forty-four dollars.

FEW, INDEED, of those who see the current performances in New York of Mei Lan-fang, China's foremost actor, understand what the play is about or even what the acting intends to convey. But the fascination is there none the less. There is the evanescent, sensuous fascination of delicate rhythmic grace in carriage and gesture, and another fascination, largely mental, of being in the presence of a completely alien civilization. The conventions of Chinese drama and acting are so utterly different from ours that there is no standard whatever for comparison. The ancient plays which this company enacts are ritualistic developments of dance and rhetoric, rather than representations of action; meaning is conveyed rather by formal gesture than by histrionic imitation. But this only brings to mind that every art is conventional, even our supposed realism. To understand a foreign art, or a foreign civilization, it is first of all necessary to understand its conventions. If the China Institute of America, which is sponsoring Mei Lan-fang's tour, thereby reminds us that in dealing with the Oriental nations we must sympathetically familiarize ourselves with their standards, it will have accomplished its purpose.

Grave News From London

WE have carefully refrained from taking a pessimistic position about the outcome of the London conference in the belief that its proceedings were bound to be enveloped in a fog of rumor and gossip. We have been certain, too, that all sorts of trial balloons would be sent up, and statements made by the various conferees solely for bargaining purposes. We have not yet given up our belief that something worth while will result, but we admit to a great sinking of heart since the news came that the American delegation has advocated the immediate building of a $50,000,000 battleship in order to reach immediate parity. Trustworthy advices from London assure us that nothing has done so much to endanger the conference as this. A correspondent of the New York *Times* even went so far as to declare, on February 16, that all hope had been abandoned of any reduction whatever. Mr. Stimson gave up the abolition of the submarine before he began to fight for it. From Washington it is reported that the Hoover Administration is now hopeful, not of any cuts at this conference, but that the way will have been cleared to substantial reductions at the next naval conference now tentatively projected for 1935.

Should this really be the outcome of the London conference it will be a disaster for all humanity. For it will mean immediate embarking upon additional building programs by Italy, France, Japan, and the United States. In other words, the net result of a conference to reduce armaments will be that they increase! It will make the failure of the tri-partite Geneva effort to reduce armaments seem like a trifle. It will stamp the governments of the five leading Powers as hopelessly insincere, or hopelessly incompetent to solve the most vital problem of the day. The resignation of the Tardieu Government at this critical time offers further complications and excuses for delay.

As for Mr. Hoover, failure at London would be both a personal and a political calamity. We have reviewed in another column the first year of his Administration. The record proves that no President was ever in greater need of a success in foreign affairs than is Mr. Hoover at just this juncture. If his delegates come back with nothing but the hope that five years from now the same group of men or their successors will really set about the business of reduction, he and they will be merely a laughing-stock, fit subjects for the sneers of the cynics and the bitter upbraiding of those who seek to ground the world's arms.

Mr. Hoover has returned to the White House which he should never have quitted in these critical days. He should hear from the country as he has just heard from that rock-ribbed election district in Massachusetts, which for the first time has given a majority to a Democratic candidate for Congress. We hope that not only he, but our delegation in London will learn through letters and telegrams from people the country over that this nation desires prompt reduction; that it takes no pride and has only shame in the fact that the United States now spends more upon its armaments than any other country in the world. This is no time for hesitation or delay.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Hoover's First Year

MR. HOOVER'S first twelve months are drawing to a close, with many storm clouds upon the horizon. Some questions are inevitable. What achievements has he to show for the first year of his Administration? What quality of leadership has he developed? What are the prospects for the remainder of his term? What constructive acts have been recorded for the advancement of the country and its extrication from the economic difficulties in which it flounders? How does he stand before the American people?

These queries are the more vital because of the peculiar situation in which the President finds himself at this moment. The London disarmament conference is under way—in the doldrums, with its delegates apparently forgetting, in their desire for one more modern battleship, President Hoover's words that "it only remains for the others to say how low they will go. It cannot be too low for us." At home the tariff debate drags its weary, wounded length along in the eighth month of its exhibition of incredible sectional selfishness and economic error. Throughout the country the industrial depression continues and the roll of the unemployed lengthens. The prohibition debate waxes louder and, if anything, becomes more futile. On top of all this Mr. Hoover has received the news that in the only clear-cut contest for the House of Representatives since his accession Mr. Coolidge's own rock-ribbed Republican district went Democratic for the first time in its history by a majority of 6,421 votes. Almost at the same time the President's nominee for Chief Justice, Charles E. Hughes, was confirmed only by a vote of 52 to 26, with the nominee permanently branded by some of the best lawyers in the Senate as unworthy to be Chief Justice by reason of his past services to the big corporations and his complete conservatism in all conflicts between property and personal rights.

Upon this record no President could look back with satisfaction, even though he might be able to shoulder a considerable part of the responsibility upon the Congress, notably in the matter of the tariff. Even as to that, however, Mr. Hoover cannot avoid all responsibility. Here as in all his dealings with Congress he has shown complete ineptitude. Had he been familiar with our tariff history he must have realized when he gave to Senator Borah his campaign pledge to submit the tariff to the tender mercies of the special session that it meant months and months of discussion and conflict with the outcome extremely dubious. At no time has he been able to induce the Congress, despite his enormous majority in the House and his titular majority in the Senate, to pay any attention to his wishes; his frantic demand in November last that the tariff revision be concluded before the ending of the special session fell upon deaf ears. So far there is not the slightest prospect, as has just been attested by the protest of the federation of farmers' organizations, that the farmer will profit by the bill which will eventually be enacted; nor is it certain that Congress will honor his request for the establishment of the pernicious system of American valuation of imported products now subject to ad valorem customs duty, instead of valuing them according to the foreign statements of their value. One achievement of some worth remains to his credit in this connection. At his behest Congress voted a Federal Farm Board and appropriated for it the sum of $500,000,000 to be used as a revolving fund to encourage cooperative marketing and otherwise advance the interests of the farmer. To this board Mr. Hoover made excellent appointments.

For the rest, Congress also disregarded the President's demand for the repeal of the National Origins Immigration law, precisely as the Senate revolted in May and adopted the debenture proposal for the relief of the farmers. On the other hand, it gave him his commission on law observance and enforcement and that for the study of conditions in Haiti. Among his own most commendable acts was the establishment of publicity for tax refunds larger than $20,000, in which case he overruled his own Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, and his own predecessor, Calvin Coolidge. Again, he wisely withdrew all oil lands from leasing save where such leases had been made mandatory by the Congress. On the other hand, his proposal that the United States turn back to the several States 190,000,000 acres of public lands, which had never belonged to them, to be managed and later sold has thus far fortunately fallen upon deaf ears. His admirable appointments to the Indian Bureau and to certain other offices seem to us to have been more than offset by bad judicial appointments and by his selection of business men without previous experience for the highest diplomatic posts in Europe. He has much improved the relations of the President to the press by abolishing the subterfuge of the unofficial spokesman of Calvin Coolidge, returning to the historic policy of issuing statements in his own name, and accepting responsibility therefor. Finally, in the field of foreign affairs he has yet to lay before Congress his proposal that this country enter the World Court on the modified terms accepted by the signatories thereto, and he has most commendably declared that he does not wish this country represented by marines abroad, notably in Haiti, where he has taken the first step, through the appointment of his commission, toward our withdrawal.

The fact is that Mr. Hoover has not added a cubit to his stature as a leader or as a statesman. He has not only been entirely destitute of the necessary skill and persuasion to obtain a worth-while legislative program; he continues to be amazingly inept in his relations with other public men—witness the few real friends he has in Congress, and the unseemly haste with which he appointed Mr. Hughes Chief Justice the minute that Mr. Taft's resignation reached him, dismissing Mr. Taft with a brief and utterly inadequate letter. Here lies his greatest weakness and his greatest danger. It is not difficult to be a departmental head and to achieve much by constant conferences. No President can carry on in that way. Commissions may help him to share the labor of getting at the facts, but in the end the President himself must bear the responsibility and be courageous and forthright in declaring his policies and defending them. If the Massachusetts election is anything of a guide it is apparent that the public is strongly of this opinion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facing Unemployment

THE people of the country have a right to know the facts about unemployment, and the public authorities have a duty to set forth the situation, as far as they can learn it, exactly as it is. A strange theory, however, has developed during recent months that it is the duty of such officers to make business good by giving out cheerful statements and thus inducing everybody to keep on buying and producing. This practice is bad morals and bad logic; its results are bound in time to be disastrous.

Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, with at least the passive connivance of President Hoover, is now engaged in an effort to persuade the country that all is well in the business and labor world, with the hope that then all will be well. We have questioned his outgivings on unemployment. It is time for a forthright statement of facts about them, in order that his political performances may not mislead the people and at the same time discredit the careful work of conscientious statisticians in the labor departments of the federal and State governments. These public servants have been making some progress in the collection and reporting of employment facts, and we are unwilling to see public confidence in their important work jeopardized in order to make ballyhoo for business.

Since 1915 the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, utilizing partly returns which it collects directly and partly figures placed at its disposal by the labor departments of cooperating States, has presented each month a useful report on employment and unemployment. Several important industrial States also have collected and published their own figures. Some of these series, notably that patiently built up by the Bureau of Statistics and Information of the New York State Department of Labor, have become the most reliable current sources of information on the labor market, and much of the value of the federal figures is due to the cooperation of the State bureaus. A committee of the American Statistical Association, under the chairmanship of Miss Mary Van Kleeck, has for years been at work helping to improve the technique of such reporting; for there are almost insuperable difficulties in building up and maintaining prompt and accurate reports of employment conditions.

In the early winter, with the desire to speed up things, the President asked weekly, instead of monthly, reports from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That unfortunate organization, caught by the demand for quick action, without notifying the cooperating State agencies or asking their aid sent to its reporting firms all over the country a request for weekly instead of monthly reports for a temporary period of possibly three months. This threw the whole situation into confusion and apparently buried the bureau under a mountain of reports that it could not handle properly and that had no great value if it could, as there was no real basis for comparison and as weekly fluctuations have little significance anyway. It was an admirable example of how not to monkey with a delicate machine of this kind, but apparently the Bureau of Labor Statistics had no option.

Then what happened? As we later learn, the figures for December 23, however little they were worth, indicated a decrease in employment of 1.5 per cent from December 16, and those for December 30 a further drop of 4.7 per cent. Secretary Davis's mouth was tight shut. But when the next week indicated an upward movement of 3.4 per cent and January 13 of 3.3 per cent more, the President rushed to the country with the statement that the tide had turned and that business was definitely on the upgrade. We will not characterize that statement of January 22 or the further weekly statements of the President and his Secretary of Labor. We will only say that Secretary Davis's radio speech of February 13 was distinctly misleading, though only the informed expert will be able to put his finger specifically on its indefensible features. The federal bureau's own *monthly* figure for January, just released, shows a decrease from December of 1.8 per cent in employment in manufactures, and 2.6 per cent for all industries.

Of one thing we are certain. With the authenticated New York figures for January showing a 2 per cent drop in employment from December, and actually standing at the lowest point in their fifteen years' history except for three months in 1921, with relief societies showing an 80 per cent increase over last year in families in distress because of unemployment, with Philadelphia clergymen urging householders to have spring work done now in order to help relieve the great numbers of the unemployed, with as sober and conservative a man as R. Fulton Cutting advocating an unemployment dole in New York City, with unemployed men rioting in Philadelphia and Cleveland, with a political revolution, due to acute industrial distress, effected in ex-President Coolidge's own Congressional district, and, more significant in its sober reality than all the other indications put together, with the economists of the country now day in and day out seriously discussing a permanent problem of "technological unemployment" involving literally millions of men—with all this staring us in the face we know that we confront a situation not adequately to be met by "optimistic ballyhoo." It is no problem of this winter or next. The unemployment situation calls for a constructive program. No answer comes out of Washington.

Inheritor and willing beneficiary of an evil tradition of government by prosperity bluff, developer of a theory of business Couéism that puts moral props under almost any form of public deceit provided only it be cheerful, the Hoover Administration faces a condition that threatens not to be wholly amenable to treatment by such means. We commend to Secretary Davis and his chief the benefits of a period of repentance, fasting, and prayer, followed by an absolutely honest attempt to learn and make public the facts, with that followed in turn by a further honest attempt to develop a genuine national program to cope with the steadily mounting dangers of unemployment. Many of the materials lie ready to hand in the findings of the President's Conference on Unemployment of 1921, the program of the American Association for Labor Legislation, the record of the experience of foreign nations, and the experiments of progressive American employers. Has Mr. Hoover the statesmanship to formulate a program?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who's Obscene?

D. H. LAWRENCE'S pamphlet "Pornography and Obscenity"* is, as we might expect, a remarkable document, full of power and passion. That it offers a clear solution of a practical problem is more dubious. Mr. Lawrence is denouncing the British and American censorships and deriding their conception of pornography. Why do we dislike pornography? he asks. Because it arouses sexual feelings? He can only dismiss such a reason as canting hypocrisy. "Half the great poems, pictures, music, stories of the whole world are great by virtue of the beauty of their sex appeal."

We expect Mr. Lawrence, after that, to condemn all censorship. But he does not. "Even I," he continues, "would censor genuine pornography, rigorously." Ah, but what is "genuine" pornography? To Mr. Lawrence the answer seems simple. "In the first place, genuine pornography is almost always underworld, it does not come into the open." And again: "The whole question of pornography seems to me a question of secrecy. Without secrecy there would be no pornography." Now this criterion clearly seems to us to put the cart before the horse. Without a concept of pornography already existing in law or in public opinion, there would be no secrecy, because there would be no need for it. Mr. Lawrence's second criterion of pornography is far sounder. "You can recognize it by the insult it offers, invariably, to sex and to the human spirit . . . the insult to the human body, the insult to a vital human relationship . . . [its] disgusting attitude toward sex, a disgusting contempt of it."

Yet no matter how much one may sympathize with this definition, one dreads to think what would happen if everything to which it applied were to be censored as we now censor the outspoken attitude toward sex. In Mr. Lawrence's opinion, for example, "Jane Eyre" and Wagner's "Tristan" are much nearer to pornography than is Boccaccio, while "the most obscene painting on a Greek vase . . . is not as pornographical as the close-up kisses on a film."

If the official censors, by a complete reversal of their customary attitude, were to make Mr. Lawrence's tests of pornography their own, they would be obliged to suppress perhaps the majority of all existing novels and plays. The enterprise seems a bit staggering; it is certain that Mr. Lawrence's censorship would prove a great deal more oppressive and disconcerting to the general public than that at present in existence. We suggest that Mr. Lawrence agree to tolerate the sly smirker's, the peeper's, and the censor's attitude toward sex as a "dirty little secret" if the censor, in his turn, will tolerate Mr. Lawrence's attitude of coming out "quite simply and naturally into the open with it." Mr. Lawrence would win his real point in the end. For the effect of abolishing censorship completely, of permitting sex to be treated with entire candor, of allowing spades to be called spades, would ultimately be to demolish the notion, held by the Watch and Ward Society, by Senator Smoot, by the censor always and everywhere, that the natural processes of the human body and the means by which the race propagates itself are essentially shameful and degrading.

*Alfred A. Knopf. New York. $1.

A Neighbor Returns

WHEN the Neighborhood Playhouse, after twelve years of fruitful activity, closed its doors in 1927, announcing that it needed time and leisure to think about itself and its future, there were many in New York who genuinely mourned its passing. Now, fifteen years old and refreshed by contemplation and unobtrusive work, the group that flourishes through the generosity and under the accomplished direction of Alice and Irene Lewisohn issues a most promising report of its plans.

The little theater on Grand Street, often enough filled to overflowing by eager and delighted audiences, was not of sufficient seating capacity to make possible any real financial success. What the group needs now, therefore, is a new theater. Plans for the building include not only a theater suitable for the production and presentation of all forms of drama, but galleries for exhibits related to the theater, studios for classes in the various related arts, and living quarters for workers. Thus the old idea of a center where dramatic art could be nourished intelligently and tenderly is to be carried out in the new venture. Moreover, the company plans to continue its school of the theater and to establish a road company.

All this is cheerful news. It is a strange paradox that in the city where more than 90 per cent of all plays produced in this country are either first or exclusively seen, a small theater in a neighborhood which it was almost impossible to reach with any comfort, a theater whose benches were of hard, uncompromising wood, whose stage offered no opportunities for any but the simplest sets, should have made a mark as significant and memorable as any single dramatic group in our history. Broadway managers whose theaters are half empty night after night might well pause and consider for a moment the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street. The plays were, for the most part, frankly "highbrow." There were no fancy-priced seats; there were, with due respect to the pulchritude of the young ladies of Grand Street, no Ziegfeld choruses; there were no dazzling costumes or equally dazzling lack of costume. It is true that once a year the young people at the Neighborhood Playhouse turned themselves loose, in the "Grand Street Follies," in a huge horse laugh at Broadway. But the annual "Follies" does not explain the *succès d'estime* of Grand Street. There is really only one plausible explanation, which is that the New York theater public really prefers good plays to bad.

Nor was the Neighborhood Playhouse the sole exemplar of this interesting fact. Eva Le Gallienne, with her comfortably successful Civic Repertory Theater, proves it nightly. The Theater Guild, in spite of several indifferent plays in a row, can point to the same reason for its success. A season or so ago Shakespeare in modern dress found audiences eager for more. Why does not an enterprising producer introduce a repertory of Shakespearean plays given in this manner? Above all, why not a regularly repeated repertory of Gilbert and Sullivan operas? "Iolanthe" and "The Mikado" were played successfully in New York a while ago. Add to these "Patience," "The Gondoliers," "Ruddigore," give them bright scenery and a dashing Broadway ensemble—and see if the money does not come rolling in!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Seems to Heywood Broun

WHEN Ralph Pulitzer resigned recently as president of the Press Publishing Company there came to an end an interesting chapter in the history of the New York *World*. It also marked the culmination of a gallant though ineffectual struggle on the part of an individual against the authority of a dead hand. Joseph Pulitzer had been dead a good many years when I worked on the *World*, but his was an ever-present spirit. There remained on the staff and in the editorial offices some few of his old associates, but it was not solely their presence which kept the founder's memory alive. The shop was haunted, as often happens in any place where a great personality has paused and then passed by. In almost any time of crisis somebody on the paper said: "Now, what would J. P. have done in similar circumstances?"

And even if no one said it the thought was operative. Far from being an advantage, this continuing ancestor worship constituted a blight. You cannot run today's newspaper by assuming what some dead man would have done if he still walked the earth. In fact I have always felt that the integrity of American political leadership will always be impaired as long as present problems are evaluated in the light of Washington's Farewell Address. The masthead of the *World's* editorial page contains a paragraph written by Joseph Pulitzer in 1883 in which the *World* is identified as a paper "that should always fight for progress and reform." The business of looking back across a gulf of forty years is not generally conducive to progress.

Curiously enough, the task of continuing the Pulitzer tradition was intrusted to a man who had little in common with his father. The force, the drive, the vitality which animated Joseph Pulitzer were never in his eldest son Ralph. But at the outset I might as well pick my side in this duel between the living man and the dead hand. I was and am for Ralph Pulitzer. The paper's peak during his period of control constituted a higher journalistic achievement than it had ever known in his father's day. Though the younger Pulitzer lacked the founder's force he did bring to the job a far more sensitized intelligence. He brought the paper up out of the field of cheap sensationalism into which Joseph Pulitzer plunged it back in the days of the duel with Hearst. And so, though he may have plunged it at last into the red, he did remove it from the yellow.

The *World* has seemed to me the most interesting morning paper in America. It did not ever cover the whole field of human events with the tenacity of the *Times*. But the *Times* is so complete a journal of record that one almost suspects that it is published for the sake of posterity. If papers may be personified, the *Times* reminds me of a man who meets your casual greeting of "How are you?" with a detaining forefinger and a well-documented history. At the very least, one may say for the *World* that it kept a waste basket around the place.

To be sure, the light of the *World* came in large part from personalities other than that of the publisher. Both Cobb and Swope colored it greatly in their day, but I trust that everyone will agree that an executive should reap some of the credit for the work done by subordinates whom he suffers or chooses. Ralph Pulitzer himself was always somewhat miscast. The fact of being dedicated to the task of honoring his father's memory must have been irksome at moments. And my guess is that these time periods were even longer. Indeed, had the younger man succeeded beyond the wildest dreams he would have shown up the fallacy of the judgment of Joseph Pulitzer. By the terms of the will the founder had said in effect that Ralph Pulitzer was not good enough to carry on the tradition. Upon Joseph, Junior, he had set the same verdict.

It was a curious document. In it the senior Pulitzer left the majority interest to his youngest son Herbert. Both Ralph and Joseph had entered newspaper work before their father's death. These two had been tried. One almost is tempted to say under his eye, for the blindness of the editor never blocked him from close contact with his paper. The result of this scrutiny of sons was the conviction that he must look elsewhere. Herbert was still a boy. He was the unknown quantity. It was on him that Joseph Pulitzer chose to gamble. It is too early yet to tell how the wager will come out. Herbert Pulitzer has been in charge of the *Evening World* for some little time and the paper has hardly seemed distinguished. But then it never was. The afternoon edition in recent years has done much better financially, but it has never approached the morning *World* in the matter of prestige.

In one respect the old man was quite right. For better or worse his son Ralph would never be the same sort of newspaper man as his father. In the first place, he was never authentically a liberal. Of course, the word requires a certain amount of definition. Surely one does not become a liberal merely by hating sham and fraud and corruption. I mean that Ralph Pulitzer had no passion for political or economic experimentation. Even in the arts his admiration was enlisted chiefly for the classic models. The new frankness that developed in the theater and in the novel found him not only abashed but indignant.

His interest was not that of his father, in man in the mass. He gave his greatest attention to the littler things in the paper. I believe that he took great pride in the page which lies opposite the editorials. Here F. P. A., Deems Taylor, Frank Sullivan, Stallings, Bolitho, Woollcott, and one or two others have flourished. This was highbrow journalism. Joseph Pulitzer would not have been interested. I doubt if he would have endured it. The most frequent criticism was that such stuff made the *World* a daily magazine rather than a newspaper. More accurately it might have been termed an attempt to elevate opinion to the dignity and importance of news. This may be heresy, but I'm for it, perhaps even more strongly than Ralph Pulitzer. No event is ever so important as its repercussions. On the face of things, the sort of journalism which Ralph Pulitzer had to offer seems not at the moment successful. I think I am very well aware of many imperfections in the man and in the method. And yet in all sincerity I cannot say other than "Good try!"

HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Hughes Rebellion

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, February 13

IT is difficult, in this reporter's opinion, to overestimate the historical significance of the furious fight waged in the Senate against the confirmation of Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice of the United States. The limberness of conviction, the absence of a proper pride, which in recent years have allowed Mr. Hughes to hire himself out along both sides of the street to whoever could pay his price, were objections grave enough to explain the terrific opposition to placing him at the head of the Supreme Court. But something vastly more important than the individual character and fate of Mr. Hughes was involved. The fight on him resolved itself with dramatic swiftness into a protest against the social philosophy embodied in the present majority of the Supreme Court itself. It became a popular uprising against the practice aptly described by Senator Dill as "writing into the law of the land economic doctrines that enable organized wealth to pick the pockets of the people under the guise of protecting its constitutional rights." It was a revolt against that "legal legerdemain" whereby the court sets up billions of dollars in fictitious values, and then requires the public to pay profits on them. It revealed how deep and widespread is the loss of confidence in the justice and impartiality of the court's decrees. There was another element in this historic rebellion—the resentment of Congress against the continued usurpation of legislative powers by the court. Remembering the occasions on which the court had assumed to judge the "reasonableness" of statutes, more than one conservative lawyer in the Senate joined the protest as one way of protecting the Constitution against its supposed defenders. Whether the event will have a large salutary effect, may be conjectured. I have been told that the court exists in a vacuum, deaf to all but the facts at issue, and blind to all except the Constitution. Seeing them, hearing them, observing their respective backgrounds, and speculating on their various blood pressures, I have been tempted to doubt this sacred dogma. From the public's standpoint I suspect the Senate debate has done no harm.

* * * * *

AS for Mr. Hughes, unless he has the hide of a two-horned rhinoceros, he will enter upon his duties in a more chastened spirit than he has yet disclosed. Twenty-six Senators publicly pronounced him unfit, and their verdict was echoed privately by a dozen others who gave him their votes under pressure of expediency, political and otherwise. He resumes his robe under the charge of having dragged it in the slime of politics. As he takes his oath to "do justice to the poor and the rich," as he ascends the bench before which he has so often pleaded the case of the corporations against the people, and as he proceeds to render judgment on questions which he has already judged for pay, he must know that millions of his countrymen regard the performance as a mockery. He knows that the only thing which saved him from humiliating rejection was the power of a disreputable political machine—that he owes his high office to the preponderance of Grundys, Binghams, Watsons, and Smoots in the Senate—that the members whose confidence and respect an upright man would naturally covet most were virtually all against him. If he has any capacity for humility, it must surely be extended by reading the principal defense offered in his behalf. Uttered in various forms, it always boiled down to this: that the constitutional views advanced by him at various times before the Supreme Court were not to be taken seriously, because he had been paid to advance them, and it was highly doubtful that he actually believed in them. What a defense for a man of Mr. Hughes's supposed standing!

* * * * *

FOR inaugurating and leading what originally appeared to be this perfectly forlorn hope, the country is indebted, as usual, to Senator Norris, of Nebraska. When he arose on Monday to report the nomination from the Judiciary Committee and to read a brief statement recording his personal objection to it, not another man in the chamber was willing to join him openly in opposing confirmation. An irresponsible objection from the erratic Senator Blease, of South Carolina, delayed consideration until the following day. Next morning, when the Senate discovered the reaction to Norris's statement, the timid took courage, and the bashful became bold. Borah's magnificent indictment of Hughes's record, and his masterful identification of Hughes's point of view with the majority view of the Court, followed by a ringing denunciation of Hughes's "lack of sensibility" by Carter Glass, of Virginia, were enough to set off the fireworks. Seldom in recent years has the Senate afforded so tense and dramatic a spectacle. Probably not since the Grant administration have the acts of the Supreme Court been subjected in Congress to such savage assaults. Old Guard leaders who three days earlier had openly invited a fight in the belief that the result would discredit those making it hastily began checking up on the votes. New wobblers popped up suddenly, and old ones wobbled with new violence. One such, from a Southern State, approached his braver colleague and emphasized the awkwardness of his own predicament by pointing out that "Mr. Hughes is one of the leading Baptists of the country." "Are we voting for Chief Justice or Moderator?" was the scathing retort. Partisanship in the press gallery attained a stage unequaled in my experience. Usually the boys are fairly cynical about such matters, and those that aren't pretend to be. But smug self-righteousness, especially when attended by the suspicion of hypocrisy, has a singular power to antagonize people of all political beliefs, and few men are better known to the Washington correspondents than Mr. Hughes. Among some fifty or sixty that were actively engaged on the story, I know of only three who wished to see him confirmed. The mass antagonism of the others was so manifest that Senators noticed and inquired about it, and one of the devoted three registered his indignant protest—with raucous and ribald results. The whole affair has been edifying and wholesome. Once more the country may thank God and the enlightened Senate minority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON previous occasions I have hinted in this place that there were interesting disclosures to be made concerning the activities of Claudius H. Huston, national chairman of the Republican Party by the grace and influence of his personal friend, Mr. Hoover. Now it can be told, at least in part. It has been disclosed by the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee that just prior to accepting the Republican chairmanship, Mr. Huston busied himself in an effort to obtain the Muscle Shoals plant for the American Cyanamid Company, one of the two great corporations that for years have been snatching at that government property. It is said in Mr. Hoover's behalf that he was unaware of this activity when he selected his friend to direct the party organization, and it is declared in Huston's behalf that he discontinued it after his selection. On the other hand, it is a fact that Mr. Hoover was informed of the circumstances, and had an opportunity to secure Huston's resignation before the public disclosure, and did not do so. As to whether Huston doffed the garment of a lobbyist when he donned that of national chairman, the committee manifests a healthy appetite for information. It might even look into the sudden departure of James Francis Burke from his unofficial status at the White House several months ago!

* * * * *

SUCH distressing incidents as that involving Mr. Huston may or may not have inspired the Republican National Committee's determination to hire itself a press agent of proved worth in the person of Mr. James L. West, a veteran member of the Washington bureau of the Associated Press. Among those who are familiar with Mr. West's work in reporting the Hoover campaign, and subsequently in covering events at the White House, for the hundreds of newspapers subscribing to that great and wholly impartial news-gathering organization, there exists no doubt as to his willingness and ability to serve the Administration well. But there is considerable doubt as to the wisdom or tact involved in choosing him. For one thing, he now becomes an admitted partisan, and hence is suspect. There are some, like myself, who believe that the innocent and sincere admiration of the Associated Press reporter assigned to the White House would be more valuable to the Administration than the services of a paid press agent. Moreover, the incident leaves an unpleasant taste because of others which preceded it. In the midst of the oil scandal, the chief of the Senate bureau of the Associated Press resigned to enter the employment of Harry Sinclair. Later the superintendent of the Washington bureau departed to join the Van Sweringen organization, which had weighty matters pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Thus far, no word on this subject has come from the chaste Frank B. Noyes, editor of the Washington *Star* and president of the Associated Press, but he is about the only member of the profession here who has not expressed an opinion. Most likely it will prove to be beneath his dignity.

Must Banks Fail?*

By J. G. CURTIS

> In an unusually quiet way, taking the importance of the happening into consideration, the news spread through the community Monday morning that the doors of the ———— State Bank were to open no more for business. Small gatherings on the street corners discussed the event all during the day, but no demonstrations were made. . . .
>
> Organized over fifty years ago, this bank was one of the oldest in this part of the country. It has had the utmost confidence of the people of the community for many years, and experienced a steady growth until lately, following the accumulation of a number of farms taken as security for previously made loans.
>
> Assessments against the stockholders have been made regularly for seven years, according to Mr. Blackmore, president of the bank. Further assessments following the closing of the bank will amount to $25,000, the bank's capital stock, bringing the total loss to the stockholders to approximately $75,000.

THE foregoing obituary of one of the five thousand banks that have failed in this prosperous country during the past nine years is taken from the weekly newspaper published in a village of the Middle West. The stockholders who lost the $75,000 were a few farmers and a country-town merchant or two. The depositors, whose loss will be small, were their neighbors.

In 1928, the year in which this failure occurred, 491 other banks in the United States failed, their total deposits amounting to $140,000,000. In 1929 the record was still worse: in the first nine months the number of bank failures exceeded the total for 1928, and the indications are that the total of deposits involved in bank suspensions during 1929 will exceed $225,000,000, an increase of more than 60 per cent over the total for 1928. This state of affairs is all the more disturbing when it is pointed out that there were fewer commercial failures in 1929 than in 1928. Ten years ago there were a few more than 31,000 banks in the United States. Today there are a few less than 25,000. Roughly one-fifth of the banks in the country have failed since 1920—and they are still failing.

These suspensions—if "failure" is too inexact and harsh a word—have occurred chiefly in agricultural sections—in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Georgia, and Florida. In some of these States almost half the banks have closed. The failures are therefore endemic. More than 60 per cent of the banks were of the same size as the ———— State. More than 60 per cent of them were in villages like ————, with a population of a thousand people or so. More than 60 per cent—probably 90 per cent—involved losses principally to farmers, country-town merchants, and such persons of small means. On the Pacific Coast, where banking has become more highly organized than elsewhere, and on the Atlantic Coast, where banking, though less highly organized, is supported by greater

* The House Committee on Banking is now considering legislation authorizing branch banking by national banks. The frequency of bank failures lends special interest to this question at this time. A second article on branch banking by the same author will appear in an early issue.—EDITOR THE NATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capital accumulation in the general community, the number of bank failures has been, by comparison, almost negligible.

It is not enough, therefore, to attribute the bank failures of the Middle West to the agricultural depression and let it go at that, for the agricultural depression was not confined to the Middle West. It is more sensible to say that the agricultural depression might have been far less severe in the Middle West had the banking business as a whole been as strong there as elsewhere in the United States. It is more sensible because it indicates a means of farm relief more practical than export debentures and federal farm loans, and far easier to achieve than cooperative marketing, though not of such final importance. These thousands of small banks—three thousand of them with only $25,000 capital apiece—instead of lending strength to their customers shared their weakness. They had neither the means nor the inclination to act collectively in any constructive program. They were not even able to save themselves as the metropolitan banks have been able to do under somewhat similar circumstances. The speculative increase in security values during 1928 and 1929 was unrelated to the earnings of business, just as the speculative increase in farm-land values before and during the war was wholly unrelated to the profits of farming.

In both cases the speculative increases depended very largely on bank credit, because people borrowed against their apparent wealth; in both cases the time came when the debts had to be paid. In the case of stock-market speculation, the loss fell upon a community comparatively well able to stand it; the losses in farm speculation, on the other hand, fell upon a class of people unable to afford it. Great city banks, holding the funds of balanced and diversified economic activity over wide areas, supported by membership in the Federal Reserve system, and managed by persons of greater experience, even if not necessarily more intelligent, were able to endure the exigencies of liquidation. One would expect them to be. Country banks, on the other hand, owned by farmers and country store-keepers—people with all their eggs in one basket, and without more than local experience—were swamped when analogous exigencies closed in on them. One would expect them to be. They had gone into business without adequate strength to meet its risks, and, what is more important, in an agricultural region where risks are, in the nature of things, especially great.

These failures, themselves the result of agricultural depression, have had the direct effect of making the depression still worse. The sum of $1,500,000,000 which, according to the Comptroller of the Currency, has been tied up in them is of course chiefly agricultural money. While not all of it is permanently gone, its withdrawal through insolvency at the time it was needed most was almost as bad as outright loss. In a way, the funds of the Federal Farm Board make up that loss, though not directly, for they should properly be used not for relief but for cure—for the removal, that is, of the primary hindrance to recovery, which is uncoordinated, individualistic farming practices. But a related secondary hindrance to recovery is to be found in uncoordinated, individualistic banking practices, and a cure for them lies in the realistic and constructive suggestions for banking reform offered to Congress by the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. J. W. Pole, and favored by Mr. Louis T. McFadden, chairman of the House Committee on Banking. Branch banking within cities is common; statewide branch banking is permitted in several States, but is common in few except California. The comptroller's recommendation, which in substance has been advocated for years by professional authorities, is for legalization of regional branch banking, i.e., the extension over wide areas of strong banking systems in place of the thousands of independent units which are now in operation.

Naturally, this proposal arouses the opposition of some thousands of bankers who a few years ago were trying to prevent establishment of the "socialistic" Federal Reserve system. It has the more jealous hostility of State banking departments, whose spokesman, Mr. Peter G. Cameron, is banking superintendent of the high and mighty State of Pennsylvania. It has the opposition of a former comptroller, Mr. Henry M. Dawes, of the Chicago Daweses, who holds the theory that it is better after all for little banks to fail than for big ones. It has the long-winded opposition of that sanctimonious guardian of "popular liberties," the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, which sees in branch banking a "menace" to the "constitutional right to engage in business for profit and accumulation." It has also, unfortunately, the opposition of a great many intelligent people without technical knowledge of banking, whose opinions about it are for that very reason influenced by the conventional and undiscriminating fear of anything big in business.

The implications of the comptroller's plan for regional branch banking are numerous; that it would prevent for the future such an aggravation of disaster as the failure of almost half the banks in the farm region is the point relevant to this discussion. The fact that the farmers do not realize this does not affect the merit of the plan. In this country, branch banking has always been regarded by students of finance as an indispensable condition of safety and serviceableness. In the rest of the world it has been taken for granted as a feature of banking so invariable that it required no comment. It is its absence here and not its advent that should arouse attention.

Ghosts

By WITTER BYNNER

Between courses at a dinner, he suddenly leaves
To remember and wonder how many moons ago
Those dinners happened that ghosts are attending.
He grieves,
Because the new persons whom he chooses to know
Never knew these others and might not have
liked the dead.
There are new smiles now, new responses to his quips.
And yet there are intervals when, having said
His dinner-table say, he hears dead lips.
The dead have ways of mingling in the uses
Of the life they leave behind them. They can rise
When a dinner is over. One of them refuses
To be gone. One of them looks at him with eyes
From farther away than any rain can reach,
Leaving him only motion, only speech.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Christian Science Censor
III. Freedom of the Press*

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

CONSTANT dropping wears away the stone. The committees on publication and the loyal members of the Christian Science Church, in whatever nook and corner of the country they may be, are forever on the job. Their zeal, earnestness, and discipline create the impression of large numbers, and consequently bring prompt results in newspaper, radio, and legislative fields. I report largely in the words of the committees on publication themselves, as published in the *Christian Science Sentinel.*

Starting at the top, the committees are carefully hand-picked all the way down. To give a single example, John M. Dean, First Reader of the church in Memphis, was appointed Committee on Publication for Tennessee for the year beginning October 1, 1923. Mr. Dean was not considered sufficiently "loyal," and his appointment was vetoed by the Board of Directors in Boston. The (local) assistant committees are similarly controlled. The general manager of committees in Boston, by means of regular bulletins and, when necessary, special communications, keeps in touch with the State committees and through them with the local ones. State committees, according to the manager, are required to correct impositions and injustices as provided in the Manual, "to guard the rights of Christian Scientists against restriction by public authority" (a duty prescribed by the directors under Article I, Section 6), and to perform any other duties required under the same by-law. The duties of assistant committees are similar.

Now for the actual work. Committees are constantly on the alert to secure the insertion in local newspapers of notices and reports of Christian Science lectures and other news valuable to the church, and to see that there is promptly published a "correction" of any unfavorable publicity of whatever character. How this result is accomplished it is well worth while to observe, for the methods at need often go far beyond the simple friendly request that constitutes a natural and proper first step. Christian Scientists are commonly well-to-do persons with good business connections. The committees therefore can, and do if necessary, bring valuable personal influence and advertising pressure to bear on the newspapers with surprisingly effective results. Such power is ordinarily exercised quietly, and on that account all the more effectively.

An unusually well-known example occurs in Washington, D. C. The District Committee on Publication is part owner of one of the large Washington department stores. Through his advertising power he holds in the hollow of his hand the *Herald* and the *Star,* which Washingtonians read in the morning and evening respectively. Some time ago the business manager of the *Star* told an interested inquirer that anything on the subject of Christian Science was always submitted to this man before publication, and that as his store was among the *Star's* largest advertisers, the paper could not afford to antagonize him. The advertising manager of the *Post* complained that the man concerned was going much too far in putting pressure on that paper through advertising power. An examination of these two papers over a period of nearly four years shows that they have published no news adverse to the Mother Church, while authorized Christian Science lectures, given in Washington every two or three weeks, have been reported to the extent of anywhere from half a column to the full text of the lecture.

The District Committee on Publication, officially reporting his activities for 1924, says:

> There was also a syndicated article, critical and adverse to Christian Science, which was withheld from publication in one of the local papers upon the request of your committee. The wisdom of Mrs. Eddy in establishing the activity of the Committee on Publication is becoming more apparent each year in a rapidly diminishing desire on the part of newspapers to print any criticism or incorrect statement concerning Mrs. Eddy or Christian Science.

What a model diminishing desire! Four years later the committee reports thus:

> No unfriendly sermons were advertised, but an objectionable advertisement from a counterfeit organization appeared. A reply was presented, but the publisher stated that he could not accept a correction to a paid advertisement. Upon the insistence of your committee that something be done in the matter, the publisher in lieu of printing the correction agreed not to accept in future objectionable advertisements.

Desire is still diminishing, but presumably not department-store advertising.

News is not news in Washington alone. A rival Christian Science organization offered an advertisement to the Chicago *Tribune,* and elicited the two following telegrams from the advertising manager:

> *November 17, 1927*
>
> Sorry publisher will not accept my recommendation to run your advertisement. Will write you regarding changes.
>
> *November 23, 1927*
>
> Cannot accept religious advertising controversial in character. This ruling prevents acceptance of your order. Revision is futile in view of your objective. Very sorry.

One advertising manager apparently learned a good deal in the course of a week. One may hazard a shrewd guess as to who was the teacher. At any rate, the Illinois Committee on Publication was able to report in 1925:

> Many editors now refuse copy of a controversial nature and we are advised that any objectionable allusion to our religion reaching such well-guarded pages does so because of ignorance or oversight on the part of the newspaper employees.

* The fourth and last article in this series, on The Siege of Fort Scribner, will appear in the issue of March 12.—Editor The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> The advertising departments of two of the largest daily newspapers firmly refuse advertising matter issued by false claimants of Christian Science.

The education of our journalistic brethren, however, cannot always be accomplished simply by "the sweet amenities of Love," as provided in the Manual, or even, it appears, by the sweet amenities of advertising, for in the report of the New York committee for 1925 we read:

> It is seldom that the better papers quibble over printing a correction. To be sure, it is still necessary at times to emphasize the moral obligation and discreetly to point out the possible legal liability on the part of publishers in connection with the printing of statements misrepresenting the teachings and practice of Christian Science.

Note correction outrunning error in Michigan in 1927:

> In August a press dispatch which quoted certain misstatements of Mrs. Eddy's teaching was printed in only one newspaper of this State, while fourteen newspapers printed a subsequent dispatch which quoted the Committee on Publication from New York in reply to the earlier statement.

The busy committees on publication, in their ceaseless pursuit of error, have much reading to do outside "Science and Health" and the newspapers. Despite such good work as was described in the preceding article, mortal mind still creeps into books and must be combated. Especially, the minds of the young must be guarded. In 1925 southern California reported:

> During the past year a textbook on hygiene, which misrepresented and attacked our religion, was excluded from Pasadena Junior College and Santa Barbara Teachers' College. In the former, the books were taken back and the amount paid by students was refunded to them in subsequent purchases at the school bookstore.

Two years later northern California reported progress in the good work:

> Success continues to be experienced in removing from schools textbooks which attack Christian Science. Assurance has been given by members of the State Board of Education that hereafter the manuscripts of books to be adopted will be read carefully to detect medical or sectarian propaganda and veiled attacks upon religion.

None of the other States, however, so far as reports indicate, could rival Illinois, which as early as 1924 had attacked the trouble at the root and likewise had smitten the noxious tree in its highest branches:

> At the request of this office several book publishers have revised incorrect copy, and one publisher destroyed plates containing disparaging references to Christian Science. An unauthorized work on Christian Science was removed from circulation at the Chicago Public Library, and an obnoxious textbook in hygiene, containing derogatory references to Christian Science, has been withdrawn from use in a university. It is also noteworthy that a plan purporting to accomplish the removal of objectionable books from all public libraries is now receiving the attention of committees on publication.

Whether the ensuing six years have sufficed for the execution of this laudable plan I do not know.

Fortunately, our reference books are being revised and brought into accord with the truth. New York is the great book center, and it is therefore natural that our knowledge of this work should come from the report of the New York committee (for 1927):

> The Grolier Society, which publishes "The Book of Knowledge," has accepted a revision of the biography of Mrs. Eddy they have been using. Their book editor was most willing and cooperative in this matter. Funk and Wagnalls, publishers of the "Practical Standard Dictionary," are using Christian Science definitions of words through an arrangement that they have made with the Christian Science Board of Directors. The "Encyclopaedia Britannica" has accepted and published two timely new articles, one on Christian Science, and one on Mrs. Eddy. A third one has been submitted and will appear in later printings. This is the result of many years of work with the publishers.

All this is encouraging. One wonders what was the character of the "many years of work with the publishers" of the Britannica. I can only note the fact that earlier editions of that immortal work contain a reasonably fair and critical, though by no means hostile, account of Mrs. Eddy and her religion, while the present one substitutes two articles written by Judge Clifford P. Smith, for fifteen years head Committee on Publication. I remind readers of the history of the Wilbur biography and the Dickey memoirs.

It is unfortunate that more space cannot be given to the activities of the committees in respect to newspapers and books, but I must hasten on to other fields where also error raises its hateful head. The theater seems to be relatively blameless, yet even here occasional work must be done. Southern California reports in 1927:

> On the stage, antagonism is seldom directed publicly toward our religion, but a play was lately produced which contained lines that conveyed a wrong impression of Christian Science. Before this play was given recently a protest was made, and the management agreed to omit the objectionable references.

Lectures and sermons still give occasional trouble, and sometimes zealous individuals use methods of direct action not sanctioned, of course, by their leaders. Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* recently lectured in Pasadena on healing fads and quackeries. According to the Los Angeles *Examiner* of January 9, when Dr. Fishbein included Christian Science "in the category of 'fakes,' several persons in the audience interrupted with a storm of objections and cries of 'That's not so.'" Dr. Fishbein thereupon invited those who did not like his remarks to leave. "Throughout the remainder of his address groups of persons rose from their places and left. Others remained throughout, interrupting and heckling the speaker with objections, boos, and hisses." Similar incidents have occurred at other lectures in the same district. Truth will be served in California.

If the theater troubles the directors and their publication committees little, they are fully alive to radio possibilities, and one could already write a fascinating volume on the deadly effectiveness of their air censorship. Publication-committee reports in recent years are full of radio references. In place of such references, however, I shall give a few details of a single case to show just how the machinery of suppression works. In January, 1929, a rival, or, as the Mother Church prefers to call it, "counterfeit," organization arranged a lecture tour by one of its British adherents, Sir Henry Japp, the distinguished engineer who built the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pennsylvania Railroad's East River tubes. In an interview at the end of his tour, Sir Henry declared that much to his astonishment he had been prevented by organized opposition from broadcasting his Christian Science lecture in Indianapolis and Schenectady, and that the same tactics had been tried unsuccessfully in Chicago and Phoenix.

Sir Henry's New York experience, however, was perhaps the most notable. The sponsoring organization arranged with the Columbia Broadcasting System, through its general manager and president, for a fifteen-minute talk over twenty stations of its basic network on the afternoon of January 15 (afterward postponed to February 17). The text of the address and of the introductory remarks was submitted, and after certain changes, apparently in response to criticisms by a Christian Scientist in the Columbia organization, was accepted by the general manager. The contract was signed and a payment was made. As soon as the address was announced, the Columbia system began getting telegrams and letters of protest from all over the country, and they became so numerous that eight out of the twenty stations finally refused to go on with the broadcasting.

On February 13 the following letter went out from an assistant committee on publication in New York:

> DEAR FRIEND:
>
> The Assistant, of ——— Church of Christ, Scientist, to Mr. Orwell Bradley Towne, Committee on Publication for the State of New York, received under date of February 11 the following communication:
>
> "The Columbia Broadcasting System has contracted to give the ——— representative the facilities of the Columbia System for an address on Sunday afternoon, February 17, from 4:45 to 5 o'clock. This has been done in spite of protests from this office and Christian Scientists elsewhere.
>
> "The Columbia System should know that this is a very unfair and unjust thing and I am therefore asking you to help get additional messages of protest from Christian Scientists in your section against it. It is not too late to stop the radio talk. . . .
>
> "One of the chief points to be emphasized is that ——— [the rival group] are actually engaged in a resentful and malicious war against the Mother Church under the pretense of preaching, and that the public statements of ——— have been deceptive, fictitious, and misleading, as well as controversial and hateful. It is wrong to have the facilities of the Columbia System used by a resentful propagandist with a handful of followers. . . ."
>
> Your Board recommends strongly to each member of ——— to follow Mr. Towne's advice. . . . Your active participation in this move of defense is considered a true service to the cause of Christian Science.
>
> Very sincerely yours,
> BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

On February 15 those who had arranged the lecture met by request with Columbia officials, and in their presence the Christian Science member of that organization talked over the telephone with Mr. Towne, New York Committee on Publication, and received a statement of further specific changes that must be made before the lecture would be satisfactory. The responsible parties, having a contract, refused to agree to these changes, and the Columbia company, despite its contract, at the lecture hour announced to the radio audience that owing to "unforeseen circumstances" Sir Henry would not broadcast.

No publicity machine is complete without its lobby, and the Christian Science lobby's rating is AA1. In a circular letter of November 19, 1918, Judge Smith, then manager of committees on publication, requested them all to send in information regarding newly elected Senators and Representatives together with additional information in regard to those "heretofore mentioned in reports." Admirable work is done both at Washington and at the State capitals. I have a body of material, some of it sensational, showing something of these extraordinary activities, but I must content myself with a few excerpts from publication-committee reports. Michigan says in 1925:

> The deliberations of the State legislature are looked after with the greatest care. . . . Many measures were presented which contained objectionable features, but all these were either defeated in committee or amended in a way which removed undesirable provisions.

California in 1927 was able to report that the legislature of that year was composed of members uniformly fair and generally friendly to Christian Science, and that the Committee on Publication received the cordial support of legislators in defeating or amending bills which were objectionable to Christian Scientists. Senate bills 570 and 815, for example, protected the San Francisco "unit" for the Christian Science Benevolent Association from the regulations of the State Department of Public Welfare, and from inspection by it, and likewise from the State requirements governing training schools for nurses—which suggests rather more protection for the "unit" than for the patients within its walls. And Illinois in the same year reported a triumph:

> Our visits to the Capitol during the legislative season of 1927 proved to be occasions for rejoicing that Christian Science is respected by Illinois lawmakers, a considerable number of whom are members of our church. Prior to this session our legislative duties were confined chiefly to protective or defensive action. The Fifty-fifth General Assembly, however, manifested such a fair and friendly attitude that it seemed an opportune time to initiate a measure to discourage misrepresentation of Christian Science and its Discoverer and Founder through radiocasting. Therefore, a bill was prepared "for an Act to prohibit slander over, through, or by means of what is commonly known as radio." After a period of watchful waiting, during which time appeals were made to the Governor and the Speaker of the House, our bill was called and passed by the House on June 30, 1927. It was presented to the Governor, received executive approval, and became a law.

I have let the committees on publication tell their own story from their own official reports, so far as those reports are presented to the public in the *Sentinel*. I have refrained from extensive comment and have given only the slightest and most inadequate suggestion of the methods by which their task of suppression is accomplished. There are enormous areas of the propaganda activity of the church that I have not touched—for example, the story of the *Christian Science Monitor*, that admirable newspaper whose advertising history is best covered with a broad mantle of charity, and the deadly whispering campaign whereby the influence and standing of practitioners are undermined on the very suspicion of "disloyalty." I have given simply a few glimpses of the working of a powerful machine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

JUST as it is impossible to spoil some people, so it is impossible to spoil some places. St. Augustine, Florida, for instance, has the unpleasant external aspects of a town that lives on visitors—as is the fact. Yet in spite of its façade of hotels, souvenir shops, and tea rooms, it has an authentic charm that differentiates it from the average resort city of the State. Perhaps it is the historic background, for St. Augustine still has more indications than one would suppose, in our fast-changing civilization, of the fact that it is the oldest European settlement in the United States—some ancient houses, an old Spanish fort, and a network of narrow, crooked streets. But the city's charm lies not so much in any of these physical facts as in its atmosphere, which the seasoned traveler soon recognizes as Latin. One might think that after a century under the American flag St. Augustine would be no more Spanish than St. Louis, say, is French. Quite the contrary. The names and faces one encounters make it easy to believe—as one is told—that about two-thirds of the permanent population is of Spanish extraction. But in almost indefinable ways the Latinity of St. Augustine is even better authenticated. One feels somehow a respect for the amenities of life and an easy tolerance that link St. Augustine with Chartres, Naples, and Cadiz. The signs in the plaza, "Please Keep to Walk," have a graciousness that is lacking in our better-known "Keep off the Grass," while in a strictly American city one would not find the group which the Drifter encountered playing dominoes on an outdoor table in the old Slave Market in the Plaza of St. Augustine—an unmistakable Latin face, a Chinese, two Florida crackers, and several other types.

* * * * *

THERE is also a certain pleasant jesting which, once common all over America, has been largely subdued in the regimentation of recent years. A local resident, wearied perhaps by the monuments to stuffed shirts which he had encountered, has had a rude face cut in stone and has placed it in front of his property, with this inscription:

Notis
This Werry Elaborate
Pile
Is Ereckted in Memery of
Tolomato
A Seminole Ingine Cheef
Whoos Wigwarm Stuud on
This Spot and Sirroundings
Wee Cherris His Memery
As He Was a Good Hearted Cheef
He Wood Not Take Yoor
Skalp Without You Begged Him to
Do So or Pade Him Some Munny
He Allways Acted
More Like a Christshun
Gentleman Than a
Savage Injine
Let Him R. I. P.

* * * * *

OWING in part probably to the narrow streets, which are poor for motors, and in part to the survival of old traditions, horse-drawn carriages are still at the disposal of visitors to St. Augustine and seem to be enjoyed by them. There is even one hansom cab, with an old-fashioned black-and-white-spotted coach dog to trot underneath. The Drifter had thought the coach dog long extinct, and doubtless this one would be if he did his duty and trotted faithfully under the hansom in its peregrinations about town. But his motto seems to be "Safety and Comfort First," and while the hansom rolls the streets he lies asleep in the sun awaiting its return.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Harding Letters

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following quotation may be of interest to all those who, like *The Nation,* are in doubt whether or not to credit the rumor that Harding's letters were destroyed.

> Mr. Charles Moore, acting chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, is authority for the statement that the widow of President Harding burned practically all of the letters he left concerning political and national affairs. Mr. Moore had endeavored to obtain from Mrs. Harding any state papers that her husband might have left to add to the collection of Presidential documents in the archives of the library. Mrs. Harding told representatives of the library that she had destroyed her husband's letters, consisting chiefly of communications written to him. There were only a few copies of those he had written.

This item appeared in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for January 9, 1926. It does not, of course, settle the fate of the letters written by Harding, but it can leave little doubt, I think, that if they were not destroyed they should have been.

Washington, February 1 MARGARET WELPLEY

America and the League

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your number of January 15 you decry the suggestion that the United States should enter the League of Nations on the ground that it is a vicious body intent on fulfilling the terms of the treaty of Versailles. I am afraid that this criticism is to a certain extent true. But Europe is still war-heated and there are very few Europeans who can regard affairs over here from a really generous viewpoint. It is just in this that an American voice could be of such inestimable value in the councils of the League. If America is to wait till the atmosphere of Geneva is surer before she joins she will have to wait a long time, perhaps until we drift into another war.

The League will always be an unsatisfactory body until America and Russia officially take part in its councils, but though in its four main tasks—the abolition of armaments and of tariffs, the control of drugs and of traffic in women—it has failed almost completely, it has brought most of the governments of the world together to talk things over in a friendly atmosphere and to unite, in a small way at the present, in a serious effort to maintain peace. While the League must, of course, be immensely grateful to America for the fine way in which she has cooperated with the League in its fight against disease, and indeed for *creating* these activities of the League, we wish that she would become one of us, and help us out!

Oxford, England, January 22 R. F. COOKE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shall West Point Expand?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The New York *World* of January 15 carried the report that Hamilton Fish was proposing a measure in the House of Representatives for the enlargement of the West Point Reservation. On January 22 the same paper carried a map showing the lands to be included in that project and the uses to which they would be put. Meanwhile, Dr. E. G. Stillman of New York City, who owns the greater part of the land, had received from Superintendent Smith at the Point a letter asking him to give this land to be used for maneuvers and for artillery practice. Dr. Stillman replied that he would neither give the land nor sell it. Whether it can be taken from him is an open question; in the interest of the civilian population sentiment should be aroused for the defeat of such a proposal. I write as one of the citizens of Cornwall, who would be seriously injured if Dr. Stillman's holdings, known as Black Rock Forest, should be taken. The reasons against it are, briefly, these:

1. Dr. Stillman has had built in Black Rock Forest a chain of lakes to be used as a reserve water supply for the town of Cornwall. During the drought last summer these lakes were turned into our town reservoir and supplied us with millions of gallons of sorely needed water at a total cost of $1 to the community. If West Point acquires these lands this source of water supply for our town will be cut off, and no other reserve supply for the town can be developed at a cost of less than millions of dollars, which a community of 4,000 could not possibly raise by taxation.

2. For ten years past Dr. Stillman has spent many thousands of dollars on experimental forestry in Black Rock Forest, seeking to preserve our woodlands and at the same time find a way of using them for lumber. The forests would of course be demolished by artillery practice, and all wild life driven out.

3. The forest now forms what is really an extension of the Interstate Palisades Park, and is frequented each week by hundreds of trampers and hikers. Not only does the forest serve the need of New York City, but it is providing a pleasure ground for the rapidly growing communities to the north and west. Of these privileges the civilian population will of course be deprived if the War Department gets possession of the Black Rock Forest.

4. The dangers of artillery practice in the rapidly growing and thickly settled area within fifty-five miles of New York City hardly need mention. Several years ago West Point attempted to close the Storm King highway to traffic during parts of each week for the sake of artillery practice, but public pressure was so great that it was forced to open the road in accordance with the agreement with New York State by which the road had been built. During the years when artillery practice was carried on at the Point, unexploded shells were frequently found out of bounds, constituting a danger to people walking in the woods outside the West Point Reservation.

5. If West Point gets this land it forever precludes the normal growth of the village of Highland Falls.

Finally, why do we need an expanding military reservation at this time? The authorities at West Point are using the threat that if they cannot get the land the academy will be removed from the banks of the Hudson. This threat seems to have terrified some of our local citizens. Would it not be very advantageous if the academy were removed to a less desirable region, and the present buildings and campus utilized for a great international university for the study of the arts and sciences that promote the peace and happiness of mankind?

Cornwall, New York, January 29 Civilian

Good News from California

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Since I feel that whenever progressive forces receive any encouragement the fact should be noted, I desire to report that the new editor of the conservative Sacramento *Union,* Charles J. Lilley, formerly a Washington correspondent, turns out to be not an Administration "yes-man," but a progressive. Today's editorial on Muscle Shoals said this: "We do not feel concerned about the problem as long as Senator Norris remains in the Senate. He will keep it out of the hands of those who want to seize it and reap huge profits from the power there."

Los Molinos, Cal., January 30 Don M. Chase

Another View of Boulder Dam

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I note Ruth Finney's article on Secretary Wilbur at Boulder Dam in *The Nation* of December 11. President Hoover and Secretary Wilbur are certainly doing their level best to keep the government out of business and allow business to run the government. The people of Los Angeles have fought for this dam against the opposition of the private power interests for eight years. The private power interests have all along claimed it would not pay, but now that the project has gone through in spite of them they want all of the power.

It is proposed eventually to bring 1,500 second feet of water from the Colorado River to this territory, and it will take 420,000 horse-power to pump this water. The allocation which the Secretary makes, assuming 550,000 firm horse-power at the dam, is about as follows:

	Horse-power
Arizona, 18 per cent	99,000
Nevada, 18 per cent	99,000
Municipalities other than Los Angeles, 4 per cent	22,000
Total	220,000
Balance	330,000

This balance is to be allocated as follows:

½ to the Metropolitan District for pumping	165,000
¼ to the City of Los Angeles	82,500
¼ to the Southern California Edison Company	82,500
Total	330,000

Thus, the people of this territory, represented by the Metropolitan Water District, having made possible this venture and arranging to pay for it, are getting out of it only enough water to pump 590 second feet. Moreover, when they need a larger amount of water, as they will very shortly after the aqueduct is completed, they will have to go somewhere else for the water or buy back from the Southern California Edison Company the power that is allocated to them, and in the end go to some other dam at a distance of some 200 miles in order to pump water at Boulder Dam. If anything could be more absurd than this I have yet to hear of it. To my mind, since the dam is made possible and is to be paid for outright by the electric customers of this city and by the payment for water by the Metropolitan Board, the allocation of power should normally be to the Metropolitan District to the extent of 420,000 horse-power when and as required, to the city of Los Angeles and other municipalities all power not used by the Metropolitan District.

The Boulder Dam bill distinctly provides preference for municipalities, and yet the Secretary is disregarding the wording of the law in order to favor the private interests.

Los Angeles, December 30 A. L. Smith

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Music, Drama

Mid-Voyage

By ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

Hard to break the day from time, the ship
from water; though day has stations
of going and coming to the sun,
and the ship for marker, the sinking nape
of coal in the bunkers.

Meanwhile we imitate
our pendent lives; the deck's road walk that in its round
encompasses the sea; we sentinel
our sleeping stomachs, hibernate in the moving cave
burrowing this chilled and salted field.
We stroke our memories sea lull to uncramp,
are patient of the sea's interim.

All day we watch the long wave forward,
the horizon; the small waves
their white spines crunched, slide beside us
in little bones. We hear fall the wall
of wind; see the sky deal in one
a dozen weathers, curdlings of storm,
and ductile mile of rain, and cataracts
of sun from cloud ridge notches pouring.

Below
the ship's engine beats; we hear the careful heart
scratching its thin artery, the infinite seabreast on.

Mr. Wilder Turns to Terence

The Woman of Andros. By Thornton Wilder. Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50.

THE first one or two books by a young author of unusual talent often give the impression of indefinitely wide possibilities. With succeeding books this impression is modified; the author begins to betray his limitations: his manner, his fictitious world gradually harden into a fixed mold; the reader can draw a definite circle around him. Witness the careers of Cabell and Sinclair Lewis: we now know almost as surely what to expect from them as we know what to expect from the Packard or Cadillac factories. In "The Woman of Andros," it seems to me, Thornton Wilder gives signs of approaching precisely such a stage. Not only does the novel betray no new possibilities; it does not even realize all the possibilities suggested by "The Cabala" and "The Bridge of San Luis Rey." It is, so to speak, a smaller circle drawn entirely within the circumference of the two preceding novels.

"The Woman of Andros" is even briefer than "The Bridge," and like "The Bridge" it is set in a former age and in a foreign place. The place is the Greek island of Brynos; the time is after the great age of Pericles and before the birth of the Savior. The story is conventional: A young girl, innocent sister of an eminent hetaera, has a love affair with a young man of good family on the island, and becomes pregnant. The young man is then called upon to decide whether he shall leave her to her fate or whether he shall marry her with all the serious social consequences which that would involve. His period of indecision is the period of the novel's suspense. He has just made up his mind to marry her, and she has just been rescued from slave dealers, when she dies in childbirth. To this summary we must add the title role: the woman of Andros is the hetaera Chrysis, and not her poor sister Glycerium. Chrysis gives famous banquets, and gathers about her a group of the young men of the island, and recites to them from Plato and Homer and Aristophanes, and talks of the pain of life, for she is very wise and very sad.

I wish I could speak of this book with more enthusiasm. It is written with scrupulous care; there are passages of genuine beauty in it, and flashes of what I suspect are real insight and wisdom; there are appealing characters, like the father Simo, and the atmosphere is sustained with great skill. But somehow the novel leaves me cold. The situations seem to me patently arranged, the plot shopworn, and at no time in reading the book was I able to lose sight of Mr. Wilder in the act of being a fine stylist. The whole thing, in fact, seems to me primarily an exercise in style; and to be told that "the first part of this novel is based upon the 'Andria,' a comedy of Terence, who in turn based his work upon two Greek plays, now lost to us, by Menander" does not help me to appreciate it. It serves, rather, to suggest its occasional resemblance to the work of John Erskine, though Wilder is never so facetious as the author of "The Private Life of Helen of Troy," and though he feels his situations more deeply.

The type of novel to which Mr. Wilder seems to have dedicated himself is inspired largely by Anatole France, and because it is not indigenous to our soil, I cannot believe that it can take deep root. Its mood and tone can be sustained only by a constant self-conscious effort; it is apt to be always a trifle anemic; and as the work of Cabell shows, it may quickly suffer from a poverty of fresh themes. But even if Mr. Wilder chooses not to depart from his present vein, we may justifiably look for better books from him than the present one, which does not quite fulfil his earlier promise.

HENRY HAZLITT

Brutalities Under Mussolini

Escape. By Francesco Nitti. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE first thought of many a reader who picks up this book will be to recall that a similar book, Silvio Pellico's widely read "My Prisons," played a powerful part in awakening Italians to revolt against the tyranny of the Hapsburgs and their client rulers. Likewise, that it was Gladstone's revelations of the condition of political prisoners in Naples under the Bourbons which swung English public opinion in favor of the Risorgimento and made possible Garibaldi's crusade.

Here is another terrifyingly vivid account of the life of the political prisoner under another Italian tyrant. Francesco Nitti, nephew of Italy's former premier, was arrested on vague charges of opposing the Mussolini regime, supported by the allegation that he had neither wife nor mistress and so must be up to mischief. He was condemned, without trial, under the special laws for the defense of the regime, to five years on one of the penal islands. Handcuffed to three fellow-prisoners he was transported to barren Lampedusa, where with professors, scientists, lawyers, teachers, workmen, and peasants, he was subjected to the obscene brutalities of the notorious sadist Lieutenant Veronica. For a year he plotted his escape with two friends. One night the three of them swam out to a launch which was waiting for them in the darkness. A roar of the engines, police boats in pursuit, searchlights playing, bullets flying about them, and then—liberty!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE MODERN AGE

by EGON FRIEDELL

"Unquestionably a superb attempt to interpret the past five and a half centuries of European history in Spengler's terms of rise, maturity and decay, but in a manner less abstruse than that which Spengler sometimes employs, and with an emphasis upon personality which he, on the whole, disdains. Its learning is great, its thought penetrating and wholly unconventional, and its style moving and often brilliant."—WILLIAM MACDONALD, in *The New York Times.* $5.00

BUY YOUR BOOKS BORZOI BOOKS **BY THIS LABEL**

UNROMANTIC SPAIN

by MARIO PRAZ

With gay humor and much worldly wisdom, Mario Praz writes about festivals, bullfights, dancing and architecture, giving us a new and realistic picture of Spanish life. Illustrated. $4.00

THE GREEK CITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

by GUSTAVE GLOTZ

The rise, development and fall of that unique organization, the Greek city, and the evolution of the various Greek institutions that accompanied its growth. The range of this study makes the book in reality a political and social history of ancient Greece. $6.00

By THOMAS MANN

Nobel Prizeman in Literature for 1929

BUDDENBROOKS

A new and cheaper edition of Mann's most popular novel. Over half a million copies have been sold in Germany in the last four months. 704 pages. Cloth binding. $2.85

EARLY SORROW

This delicate portrayal of a child's inarticulate love is Mann's latest prose fiction. $1.50

THE HUMAN MIND

by KARL MENNINGER, M. D.

Here at last is a popular book that tells all that science has revealed of the normal and abnormal workings, disorders and treatments of the mind that lives as the personality behind our features. Richly illustrated with many cases from the author's long experience as a psychiatrist. $5.00

AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN

by LUDWELL DENNY

author of *We Fight for Oil*

The complete story of the greatest economic war of all time—a war which daily threatens the continuance of international peace. No one who reads here of the foreign battles won by General Electric, Standard Oil, Ford, etc., can deny that our country is gaining in her attempt to wrest from Great Britain her long-held world supremacy. Avoiding all bias, Denny gives an impregnably documented analysis of the situation such as is nowhere else available. $4.00

STORIES OF THE OPERA

Third Series

by ERNEST NEWMAN

An interpretation of the music, stories and circumstances under which were created: Verdi's *Rigoletto, La Traviata, Il Trovatore, Aida, Otello;* Gounod's *Faust;* Bizet's *Carmen;* Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann;* Humperdinck's *Hansel and Gretel*; and Puccini's *La Boheme, Tosca* and *Madame Butterfly*. With brief biographies of the composers. $3.50

THE LIFE OF THE DEVIL

by

FATHER LOUIS COULANGE

A complete history of Satan from his rise in Heaven, through his vehement warfare against mankind and into his contemporary decline. Illus. $5.00

500 CRIMINAL CAREERS

by SHELDON *and* ELEANOR T. GLUECK

With a Foreword by RICHARD C. CABOT

By dramatically tracing the lives of 500 men before, during and after their imprisonment, this book effectively portrays the evils of our present day penal institutions. It is a study not only of absorbing interest, but of unexampled importance in the field of penology. "A work of unique value and interest... Eminently readable and displays vision as well as knowledge."—DR. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY $5.00

At all Bookstores

ALFRED • A • KNOPF • PUBLISHER
730 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As a narrative of almost incredible adventure the book could not be better. As a denunciation of the brutalities which inevitably accompany such a dictatorship as Mussolini's, it is as powerful as it is truthful.

It will unquestionably further arouse public opinion abroad. But whether Nitti is another Silvio Pellico is another question. A dictatorship stands or falls not on its treatment of individuals or the behavior of its police, but on its ability to administer successfully the economic life of the nation. Whether the Fascist regime is doing that may not be known for several years to come.

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

The Truth About Washington

George Washington, 1777-1781. By Rupert Hughes. William Morrow and Company. $5.

IN the third volume of his admirable and monumental biography of Washington, Mr. Hughes maintains the high standard of the previous volumes, and continues his devastating work with the myths. It is an appalling thing that we have had to wait for a novelist's study to get the truth about Washington. Between the Parson Weemses and the John Marshalls the biographers played havoc with the truth in the beginning, and succeeding writers have lacked the honesty, the industry, or the courage to give us a true portrait. Mr. Hughes seeks to dig a great figure out from the debris of fancy and fable, and, in doing so, has destroyed many a pallid myth, and been roundly abused for his pains. But he has accomplished one thing which is quite sufficient—he has given us the most thorough and scholarly biography of Washington yet written.

Because of the author's necessity of combating tradition and prejudice, one sometimes gets the impression of a rower straining against the stream. He is denied the privilege of merely building something; he is forced to demolish much, and this means some dust and dirt and confusion. But the fault is not his. We shall be delightfully surprised if he escapes the condemnation of the uncritical for some of his devastating work in this volume. Washington on his knees at Valley Forge—this goes overboard. Washington the pious devotee of the church makes way for the Washington of the Diaries. Conway, the wicked Irish renegade, is shown in a new and more favorable light, and even the Lee of Monmouth becomes more a half-crazed genius than a traitor. Even Arnold is shown to have had some cause for complaint; the tearful stories of his later repentance are discredited, and his beautiful wife no longer commands our sympathy, since she is shown to have been as deeply involved in treason as her husband. Here we learn more than the historians have thought wise to tell us before of the French, and of Washington's relations with them, and something of the impatience of Washington, which made him a bit trying to his subordinates.

It is probable that some of our super-heated patriots will be distressed at the author's indictment of the masses of the American people of the Revolutionary period, though Mr. Beveridge has painted the picture in colors quite as drab in his biography of Marshall. It is an ugly fact to which it is pointless to close our eyes. There were wholesale desertions, there were intolerable failures on the part of the Congress and the States, there were enemies of Washington among the Revolutionary leaders who had a contemptuous opinion of his military capacity, there was often chaos; and Mr. Hughes conveys a very bad impression of the Revolutionary fathers in the army. While the author seems at times in wrathful mood about the private soldiers, he nevertheless does much to explain their lapses in fidelity to the cause. After all, theirs was not an enviable situation. They were the ones who made the bloody footprints in the snows of Valley Forge, and pressed in flimsy rags against the bitter winter winds, and went without pay. The honors went to the leaders, and no fashionable ladies were knitting yarn gloves for the privates. In all the literature of the Revolutionary period one looks in vain for evidence of special appreciation of the work of the common soldier; and Mr. Hughes shows that Washington believed in keeping him in his place—which was far, far removed from the officers. Privates were to be paid in script, and after the war was over most of them were to be tricked out of this—and by officers and heroes! It is not surprising, therefore, that they were not all fidelity to the cause at all times; there were times when they must have felt that they were making a futile sacrifice. It is far easier to excuse the common soldier in his desertion than to palliate the merchants and the aristocrats in their indifference or disloyalty. It is to the credit of Mr. Hughes that in painting the black picture he does not conceal the fact that even the deserters were not without a grievance. It was not until Webster spoke at Bunker Hill that the common soldier was to hear glowing words of appreciation, and, alas, there were so few then living to hear it!

In these pages Washington the soldier is painted by the hand of a realist. It is not a military genius of the first order that is presented. The contemporary criticisms of his strategy are set forth fully, but with these all the heart-breaking handicaps that the Napoleons never knew. And out of it all emerges a Washington greater than ever, more human, more understandable, more masculine, and more than ever essential to the success of the mighty enterprise he led, and saved. Mr. Hughes has taken him from a vulgarly gilded pedestal and brought him to our hearthside where we see him as a human being. The author's Washington, created from his studies, is as follows:

> He was not at all the Washington that is taught in the schools. He was far greater than the bland miracle-worker. He was infinitely human, incessantly guessing wrong, making innumerable false prophecies, countless mistakes, losing his temper, regaining it, being driven into victories in spite of himself, and driving others to heights they could not otherwise have attained.

And this is the true Washington.

Mr. Hughes has thoroughly documented his work. His investigation has been exhaustive, his citations are conclusive on controversial points, and the result is that his biography comes closer to being definitive than any hitherto written. There are scrupulous honesty and superb courage in this work, and the author is to be congratulated on the performance of a real public service.

CLAUDE G. BOWERS

The Man Ibsen

Ibsen, the Master Builder. By A. F. Zucker. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

INEVITABLY there came a lull in the Ibsen cult after the long storm of feverish discussion that had raged about him and his "problems" from the time his Nora slammed the door behind her and his "Ghosts" first walked the stage—from 1879 or 1881, that is, until the poet's death in 1906 and for a few years thereafter. The reformer shares the fate of the scientist and the discoverer in that all he has accomplished for the race is just taken for granted. Most of Ibsen's "problems" have long since become semi-historic and have ceased to agitate us—woman's rights, political, marital, occupational, the double standard of morality, the claims of youth, and all the rest. But while the meat of the animal is gone, the exquisite and perduring conch is left—his dramas, perhaps the subtlest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

yet most plastic portrayal of human nature in all literature.

In so far as Mr. Zucker's book, somewhat too modestly, disclaims any treatment of literary criticism and literary influences and lays its main stress on the outer circumstances of the life that gave birth to Ibsen's works, it is a step backward. Risking a paradox, one may say that in the present case the work is greater than the man. Whereas in this well-executed exposition Ibsen the artist towers again as incontestably the greatest literary figure in Europe after Goethe, Ibsen the man shrinks and at any rate is neither admirable nor engaging. His great contemporary and rival, Björnson, was not so wrong when he called Ibsen "only a pen." He was, rather, a specialist, one who to an extraordinary degree chose to renounce a broader life in order to achieve immortality in his chosen field. For all the many and interesting bits of new information about that bare life that are here brought together the Sphinx preserves essentially the same unrevealing silence. One almost questions the existence of a rich inner life behind the mask.

Within his self-imposed limitations, Mr. Zucker has produced an absorbing book. The story—the fairy story, as he himself called it—of Ibsen's life is told with a notable elegance, coupled with a certain *vis comica* and an epigrammatic felicity which raises the work above the usual "professor-made" biography.

LEE M. HOLLANDER

The Poetry of Léonie Adams

High Falcon and Other Poems. By Léonie Adams. The John Day Company. $2.50.

LEONIE ADAMS is, to my mind, the finest lyric poet writing in English. She is the type of poet, so seldom found in America, who is directly in the stream of literary tradition and yet a profoundly original genius. And this means that her work will live. "No poet, nor artist of any art," as Eliot remarks, "has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation, is that appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him by contrast and comparison among the dead." And this is probably the reason why the critics of Miss Adams's first book, "Those Not Elect," did not trouble to compare her with her contemporaries as much as they tended to trace her literary lineage. Their decision was that her influences were Donne and the Metaphysical school. Now, not until Miss Adams had noted their comment had she ever read Donne. She was, however, deeply read in the Elizabethan and Romantic poets. It is to these two periods, and more particularly to the first, that her roots are rightly traced.

Léonie Adams's language, even her grammatical structure, is often Elizabethan. She employs both the modern overtones of speech and all the shades of connotation and usage known to the Elizabethans, and in so doing has greatly enriched our poetic language. Her rhythms are, of course, not the simple song rhythms of the Elizabethans, but rather the subtle rhythms of written and beautifully patterned verse. She uses a variety of stanza forms, but has a strong individual inner rhythm attuned exactly to her meaning.

The themes of Miss Adams's poetry are love and nature, the two great Elizabethan themes, but in her love poetry there is none of the Elizabethan conventionality of phrase, and in her nature poetry no reflection of the pastoral tradition. The simple sensual outlook of the Elizabethans is replaced by the intricate intensity of a modern bent upon spiritual exploration and understanding of life. Like all truly fine English poetry, Miss Adams's verse, despite its literary roots, is unique. Although her themes are simple and her images as simply sym-

New Titles

in the

MODERN LIBRARY

at 95¢

a copy

THE SUN ALSO RISES
By ERNEST HEMINGWAY —170

ANNA KARENINA
By LEO TOLSTOY —37

THE DANCE OF LIFE
By HAVELOCK ELLIS —160

THE TURN OF THE SCREW and THE LESSON OF THE MASTER
By HENRY JAMES —169

GREAT MODERN SHORT STORIES
Edited by GRANT OVERTON, including stories by Conrad, Sherwood Anderson, Hemingway, James Joyce, and others —168

THE ILIAD
By HOMER —166
Translation of Lang, Leaf and Myers

THE ODYSSEY
By HOMER —167
Translation of Butcher and Lang

COMPLETE & UNABRIDGED IN ONE VOLUME
Send for a list of 175 titles

To YOUR BOOKSELLER or N-2-30
THE MODERN LIBRARY, INC., 20 East 57th Street, New York

Please mail me MODERN LIBRARY Books Nos._____
☐ I enclose $1.00 for each volume (95c for the book, 5c for postage).
☐ Send books C. O. D.
☐ Please send me, free of charge, your new catalog, describing all of the books in the Modern Library.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bolic as those of Dante, all her poems glow with richness of language, with music, and with an imagery which sweeps from understatement to a disembodied tracery of light and shadow as luminous and tranced as Shelley's own. Hers is a mystic vision as terrifyingly simple and universal as Blake's, but her mind is more subtle and more intellectual than that of the earlier mystics.

When "Those Not Elect" was published, Miss Adams was accused of obscurity. The reasons are several: packed and elliptical sentences not always consistently punctuated, the ageless command of language of which we have spoken, and, perhaps most important, the fact that most American lyrics can be paraphrased and those of Miss Adams cannot. Certainly the concentration of her lines and her special use of language do require an adjustment on the reader's part to her special technique. But in her actual emotional content there is nothing which can be rightly called obscure. Her poems arise, as all lyrics do, out of an intense personal experience, but this experience is almost immediately translated into its universal meaning through a profusion of images which flow rapidly into each other and are frequently summed up in a symbolic statement. The fact that her poems are not easily paraphrased is, indeed, a mark of their greatness.

Whatever difficulties there were in the piling up of clauses and in an archaic use of words have largely disappeared in Miss Adams's second book, "High Falcon." Here she has been more scrupulously critical of her own constructions and has, moreover, clarified her own vision. "High Falcon" is, therefore, a better book than "Those Not Elect." The melodious rhythmic flow is the same, the richness of language and imagery have the same magic; nothing is lost, and a complete lucidity—one or two poems excepted—is obtained. Certain of the poems—Song for a Country Fair and Winter Solstice, for example—make use of a more concrete detail than was to be found in her earlier verse. But these poems seem a little away from the main course of her development. The others are in the same key as the five poems in the first book and are concerned with the same search after significance and with the glory down "the waste track of beauty in the heart."

There are many singers, and excellent singers too, whose song is always of their own personal passion, with no roots going deeper than their own milieu. Miss Adams is infallibly the singer of such passions as are universal, and of a world ageless in its seasonal and transfixed wonder.

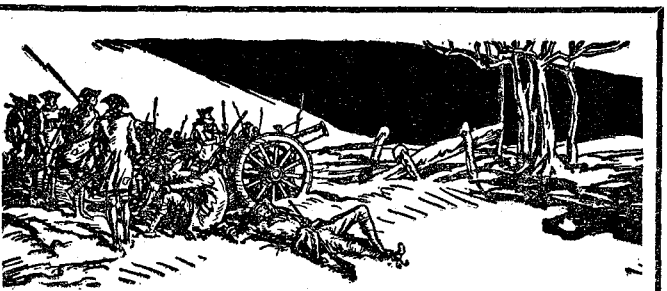
EDA LOU WALTON

Rabelais

Francis Rabelais: The Man and His Work. By Albert Jay Nock and C. R. Wilson. Harper and Brothers. $5.

François Rabelais: Man of the Renaissance. A Spiritual Biography. By Samuel Putnam. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $3.50.

IT HAS been felt by those who have even the slightest acquaintance with Rabelais that he has something infinitely valuable to give us. A need, therefore, has long existed for an introduction to his works and an evaluation in contemporary terms. A study of Rabelais that would meet this need must be done, if not in the spirit of the man, which would imply a genius equal in breadth and depth to his, at least in a spirit large enough to encompass, even on a reduced scale, his whole gargantuan personality, encircling the whole range of his expression with all its contradictions, paradoxes, and unintelligible bewilderment of richness. It would have to be done by someone who has not only something of the depth of seriousness the satirist was capable of, but also that unbounded



George Washington

VOL. III: THE SAVIOR OF THE STATES 1777-1781

By RUPERT HUGHES

"The third and the most interesting volume so far. This distinguished biography gains steadily in narrative momentum, in reality of background and in clearness of character portrayal . . . Probably the greatest tribute that any biographer has given him."
—Allen Tate, *N. Y. Evening Post.*

At all bookstores, illustrated, $5.00

WILLIAM MORROW & COMPANY

Visits to Soviet Russia

FOURTH SEASON

EXPLORATIVE itineraries worked out with reference to social, economic, historic, artistic and scenic features.

Visits to factories, schools, children's communities, collective farms and villages . . . art treasures, palaces and workers' rest homes . . . for the adventurous . . . camping in the Caucasus and study of primitive tribes.

Small groups, each accompanied by a qualified American leader and Russian interpreter. From $395 including express steamship passage. Literature available.

Individual itineraries also executed ▲ Independent year-round representation in Russia

20-30 WEST 43rd STREET ▲ NEW YORK

THE OPEN ROAD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

capacity for the enjoyment of experience in the raw with brutal gusto which characterized him. Above all, such an evaluation would have to be done from such a lofty lookout that there should not appear in it the slightest indication of the tendency to apologize for what the philistines since his day have condemned as his inexcusable coarseness.

The reviewer is sorry to report that Mr. Nock and C. R. Wilson seem to lack the necessary qualifications for the criticism of Rabelais. Their scholarship appears in places to flag. And what is worse, two fundamental defects vitiate their work. They approach their subject in a spirit of unmixed piety which, one soon realizes, is at best sublimated prudery, and they undertake to demonstrate too simple a thesis. It must be indicated in all fairness that their point of view is altogether preferable to the vulgar approach which regrets the "unseemly side of our satirist." Their apology is much more intelligent and subtle. They admit the coarseness in Rabelais but undertake to prove that his "moral relation toward [his] subject is correct." In the telling of his best stories, we are assured, he "communicates an unmistakably authoritative impression of detachment," and they go on to point out that the "tone and accent of Rabelais's writings betray no morbid obsession of any kind, but quite the opposite."

Their piety has another consequence. It tends to make of Rabelais a breviary for the comfort of those whose weariness and squeamish disgust with the conditions of our day impel toward consolation. Life in the sixteenth century was no better and no worse for all its intolerance and its stupidity than ours. But Rabelais did not go back to the past to seek comfort in it; he lived the life of his day with a dash and a relish incomprehensible to us. He laughed at its imbecility, but he derived no small measure of enjoyment from it. This is the true pantagruelism. The very last thing Rabelais would have wished to do—he who was, in Nietzsche's phrase, such a yea-sayer—is to offer comfort to those who lack a stout heart. And how he would have smiled patronizingly at our authors for even indicating the possibility of a parallelism between him and Marcus Aurelius!

The second defect must be indicated briefly. The authors contend throughout that Rabelais was a story-teller, a great artist, and they write of him as if that fact, which is of course obvious, made it impossible for him to have been a great satirist. But, one asks, are the two incompatible? The simplicity of their logic and their piety force Mr. Nock and C. R. Wilson to skip lightly over certain aspects of their subject's work which indicate that he was not only a great story-teller and a great satirist, but also a man not as disinterested in the partisan issues of his day as they wish to make him out. In their pious simplicity they miss an aspect of his work as important as the one they are so exclusively trying to emphasize. The "Works" are not only the expression of an attitude toward life, but they are also, it must not be forgotten, one of the most significant documents of the sixteenth century. Interest in this aspect of Rabelais they condemn as pedantry.

Mr. Putnam gives evidence of greater scholarship than Mr. Nock and C. R. Wilson, and his book is on the whole a more balanced one, though much less inspired. Nowhere throughout its pages did the reviewer detect a genuine attempt at evaluation. On the other hand, one does find judicious use of the scholarly labor which the men working through the *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes* and others have gathered to date. A classic, however, is more than a historical relic; it is living word, with a meaning to us which may be quite different from the meaning it had for the past. Mr. Putnam seems not to have any inkling of this. As an introduction to Rabelais it is hard to tell which of the two books is to be preferred. The jazzed scholarship of Putnam makes agreeable and informative reading, but it misses the significance of Rabelais to us; the admirable high-

HEALTH CLASSICS at a Great Saving

Outstanding Health Books for Laymen

THE health books that should be in your home—those of all publishers which have proved most popular and helpful—are now available by mail at reduced prices. All are interesting, authoritative and written in clear, simple language. Any or all will be mailed *postpaid* at the prices quoted, with a money-back guarantee.

(1) **The Lazy Colon.** By Charles M. Campbell and Albert K. Detwiller, M.D. (Generally recognized as the leading work on constipation.) Sixth edition. **$2.59**

(2) **Colds, Cause, Treatment and Prevention.** By Russell L. Cecil, M.D., Cornell Medical College. **$.97**

(3) **Rheumatism, Its Meaning and Menace.** By Lewellys F. Barker, M.D., Johns Hopkins. **$1.39**

(4) **Your Heart and How to Take Care of It.** By Robert H. Babcock, M.D., New York. **$1.39**

(5) **Blood Pressure—Its Cause, Effect and Remedy.** By Lewellys F. Barker, M.D., of Johns Hopkins. **$1.19**

(6) **The Skin, Its Care and Treatment.** By Albert Strickler, M.D., Prof. of Dermatology, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. **$1.39**

(7) **Indigestion, What It Is and How to Prevent It.** By Arthur L. Holland, M.D., Cornell University Medical College, New York City. **$1.19**

(8) **The Teeth and Mouth.** By LeroyL.Hartman,D.D.S., Columbia Medical School. **$1.39**

"THE LAZY COLON" on the GREATEST SINGLE CAUSE OF ILL HEALTH

ONE book, *The Lazy Colon,* you will certainly need because it deals in the most comprehensive fashion with the human intestinal tract, which Dr. Foges of Vienna calls *the most prolific source of dangerous disease.* It presents the *newer* methods of treating intestinal stasis (constipation) as developed by 300 world-famous Physicians. 42nd thousand already.

Dr. John Dewey, Columbia University: "You have rendered us all a service by making this material available."

Prof. E. V. McCollum, Johns Hopkins University: "It is very well written and should accomplish much good."

Lloyd H. Wright, San Gabriel, Calif.: "Send by return mail one copy of 'The Lazy Colon,' recommended to me by my physician, Dr. Olson of Los Angeles."

Martin W. Barr, M.D., noted physician and author: "Sat up most of last night reading this delightful and masterly book."

SOME OF THE 36 CHAPTER TITLES

Mysteries of the Intestines Revealed by X-Rays; Curious Causes of Constipation; Startling Theories of Self-Poisoning; Story the Urine Tells; Surprising Theory of Water Drinking; Hardening of Arteries; High Blood Pressure; Purgatives, their Proper and Improper Use; Mineral Oil; Bran or Agar, Which?; Vitamin Facts; Greatest Menace of All; Intelligent Use of the Enema; Coated Tongue, Its Cause and Meaning; Is Sugar of Milk the Long Sought Remedy; Starting Right with Children.

Money Refunded If Desired

If you find that the books you order do not contain practical, important and usable information, simply return them and your money will be refunded.

EDUCATIONAL PRESS, 8 East 12th St., Dept. H2, New York

☐ (1) $2.59 ☐ (2) $ .97 ☐ (3) $1.39 ☐ (4) $1.39

☐ (5) $1.19 ☐ (6) $1.39 ☐ (7) $1.19 ☐ (8) $1.39

Kindly send me the books checked above, *postpaid.* Enclosed is $——. If am not fully satisfied with any of them, I may return and my money will be refunded.

Name .....

Address .....

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mindedness of Mr. Nock and C. R. Wilson, on the other hand, gives us a wry picture of that significance. Perhaps for those who have not yet entered the cool, spacious, free universe of the Frenchman and know nothing of the joy of its freedom and strength, both books might serve for the lack of a better guide.

ELISEO VIVAS

The Student Volunteer

German Students' War Letters. Translated and Arranged from the Original Edition of Dr. Philipp Witkop by A. F. Wedd. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

"WE only know that we got to win and that however war-weary we may be, we shall go on doing our duty." This sentence from a letter written early in 1915 is symbolic of the entire collection, all the contributors to which died in the World War. These letters express the mental attitude of the German student volunteer much more emphatically than any of the recent war novels could do. For though a war novel may revive the experiences of the war, it cannot conserve, as letters do, the ideology and outlook of those past days. Here we have a monument to the spirit of a bygone elite of a bygone Germany. It is significant of the heroism of a social group and generation, even though the letters were selected from a choice of about 20,000, all of which certainly did not manifest the same undoubting patriotism; even though they were chosen by a nationally minded professor, with the official cooperation of the ministries of education of various German states; and even though most of them were written before the summer of 1917, at a time when there was still hope.

The Malik-Verlag, Germany's greatest publishing house of radical authors, has announced, in protest against the reactionary tendency in Witkop's selection, its intention of publishing "Letters of Proletarians Killed in the War." One may trust that a collection of this kind, if published, will radiate a different spirit. Though abridged, the English version of the present letters preserves the breath of the original.

WALTER KIEN

Contributors to This Issue

PAUL Y. ANDERSON is the national correspondent of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.*

J. G. CURTIS is the pseudonym of a careful student of present-day financial and industrial developments.

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY is managing editor of *The Nation.*

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER is author of "The Temptation of Anthony."

HENRY HAZLITT is literary editor of *The Nation.*

HIRAM MOTHERWELL served for five years as a newspaper correspondent in Italy.

CLAUDE G. BOWERS is author of "The Tragic Era."

LEE M. HOLLANDER is associate professor of Germanic languages at the University of Texas.

EDA LOU WALTON is assistant professor of English at New York University.

ELISEO VIVAS is in the department of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

WALTER KIEN, on the staff of New York University, is an authority on German and Scandinavian literature.

HUBBARD HUTCHINSON has contributed articles on music to various periodicals.

Music

Four Moderns

WE are always indebted to Dr. Serge Koussevitzky of the Boston Symphony for a constant fare of significant modern music. The New York concert of February 8 at Carnegie Hall, however, was especially interesting because its two principal scores, new to America this season, might fairly be said to represent the romantic and the classic tradition in music—old labels for antagonists far older, the heart and the head. The same program rarely displays two contemporary works so wholly devoted to the one spirit or the other as the Second Symphony of Arnold Bax and the Second Concerto of Serge Prokofieff, although they seemed to this writer too unevenly matched to prove anything of the relative merits of the two attitudes.

The program opened with the Portsmouth Point Overture of William Walton, a young Englishman who derived his inspiration from an eighteenth-century print of a roaring British port. Bits of bellowed chantey, ballads, scraps of melody from a dance hall are woven cheerfully together. The individual tunes employ intervals familiar as those of Turkey in the Straw, and as impudently gay. They speak a language clear to anyone. But Walton combines them in odd ways, purposefully crude, like the turmoil and clamor of a busy waterfront, and thereby produces pungent polytonal dissonances. It is a vigorous, merry, and amusing work, which would gain if somewhere sixteen quiet bars relieved the pound of syncopated rhythms. Even sailors drowse.

Bax builds his symphony in exactly the opposite way. Where Walton's tunes, the girders and beams of his bawdy little tavern, are homely as pine and oak, Bax brings to the pillared vaulting of his dark and lofty palace exotic substances, porphyry and ebony. For the stuff of his melodies is highly personal and hence unfamiliar to the average ear. But as he develops them he builds a structure which we enjoy, I believe, because we unconsciously recognize in it the same laws of organic growth that we have—usually thoughtlessly—felt elsewhere in mediums better known to us, such as architecture or literature. The edifice itself is new and we enjoy that as well, being changeful creatures. But it has taken shape around laws inherent in ourselves, which must be satisfied if we are to experience aesthetic pleasure.

Above all, this clarity of form and freshness of material are fortunately fired with a profound emotional sincerity. The score is neither artificially made nor muddled. Bax employs the entire range of the harmonic palette. He is untroubled with the fear of being considered old-fashioned which haunts lesser moderns, and uses simple major triads when they serve his purpose. He embodies his lyric impulse in subtle orchestral coloring gained by weaving many individual tonal threads. The effect is that of a somber tapestry shot through with glints of gold and silver, the principal themes embroidered in bold design. If a second hearing of the work reveals occasionally reminiscent decoration from older façades, such as the Poème d'Exstase of Scriabine or the Prelude to Tristan, it also confirms the originality of the basic material and the impression of music written because it was deeply felt.

On the other hand, the Prokofieff concerto for piano, excellently performed by the composer, was essentially music of the brain. No petals or perfumes of emotion were permitted to clutter this glittering chamber of clear-cut crystals. With its carefully made designs, beautifully fitted and crisply turned, it was clean swept and spare as the lobby of the Chanin building, brilliant as an empty conservatory. Perhaps this impres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LUNCHEON AND LECTURES

A CHICAGO DINNER

FOR

NORMAN THOMAS

WHO WILL SPEAK ON

CATCHING UP WITH OURSELVES

A Program for the Times

Hotel Morrison, February 22nd, at 7 P. M.

Make reservations in advance at $2.00 each.
Robert Morss Lovett, Chairman.

COMMITTEE ON DINNER FOR NORMAN THOMAS
800 South Halsted Street Seeley 0940

MRS. PATRICK CAMPBELL

famous British actress, herself distinguished for the beauty and purity of her diction

will lecture on

Beautiful Speech and the Art of Acting

Monday, March 3 — Admission
8:20 P.M. — $1.50

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
465 West 23rd Street

Are you interested in Humanism?

Will it supplant Christianity?

HEAR

HARRY ELMER BARNES, Ph.D.

in a Course of Six Lectures on

"Religion in the Twentieth Century"

Thursday Evenings

FEBRUARY 20, 27, MARCH 6, 13, 20, 27

8:15 P. M., at the

COMMUNITY CHURCH AUDITORIUM
Park Avenue and 34th Street

Course $3.50 — *Single Lecture 75c*

WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT

PLAYS TO SEE

*At the Bottom—Waldorf—116 W. 50th St.
*Berkeley Square—Lyceum—E. 45th St.
**Children of Darkness—Biltmore—W. 47th St.
*Civic Repertory—14th St. & 6th Ave.—See Advertisement.
*Criminal Code—National—W. 41st St.
*Death Takes a Holiday—Barrymore Theatre—47th St., W. of B'dway.
Ruth Draper—Comedy—41st St., E. of B'dway.
**Everything's Jake—Assembly—39th St., E. of B'dway.
**June Moon—Broadhurst—W. 44th St.
Mei Lan-Fang—49th St.—W. of B'dway.
**Meteor—Guild—W. 52nd St.
**Rebound—Plymouth—45th St., W. of B'dway.
**Strictly Dishonorable—Avon—W. 45th St.
***Strike Up The Band—Times Sq.—W. of B'dway.
*The First Mile—Comedy—41st St. E. of B'dway.
**The First Mrs. Fraser—Playhouse—48th St., E. of B'dway.
**Topaze—Music Box—45th St., W. of B'dway.
***Wake Up and Dream—Selwyn—42nd St., W. of B'dway.

FILMS

Disraeli—Central Theatre—Broadway and 47th St.
The Green Goddess—Winter Garden—1646 B'dway.

FIRST NIGHTS

Green Pastures—Mansfield—W. 47th St.
Neighborhood Playhouse Program—Mecca Temple—W. 56th St.
The Infinite Shoeblack—Elliott—39th St., E. of B'dway.

ART EXHIBITS

Exhibition of contemporary Belgian painting sculpture and graphic arts—Brooklyn Museum—to Feb. 23.
Paintings by Arnold Blanch and drawings by Peppino Mangravite—Dudensing Galleries, 5 E. 57th St.—thru Feb.
Oil paintings by Jean Pfister—Holt Gallery, 630 Lexington Ave.—thru Feb.
Woodcuts and Lithographs by Ellsworth Ford—The Fifty-Sixth St. Galleries, 6 East 56th St.—Feb. 18 to March 1.

*Drama. **Comedy. ***Musical.

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
7 EAST 15TH STREET — ALGONQUIN 3094

HERMAN EPSTEIN "The Ring of the Niebelungen"	**Fri., 8.30 p. m.** February 21
DR. S. ADOLPHUS KNOPF "Birth Control for the Benefit of Humanity"	**Sat., 2.00 p. m.** February 22
HARRY W. LAIDLER "Socialist Tactics in the New Capitalism"	**Tues., 8.30 p. m.** February 25
WILLIAM H. BRIDGE "Creative Psychology"	**Wed., 7.00 p. m.** February 26
ANITA BLOCK "The Theatre as a Criticism of Life"	**Wed., 8.30 p. m.** February 26

Debates

Sundays, 8 P. M., INGERSOLL FORUM, Admission, 50c
PYTHIAN TEMPLE, 135 W. 70th Street, New York City

Feb. 23—"IS WOMAN MORALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY INFERIOR TO MAN?"
MARK JACKSON vs. JOSEPH PORTAL

March 2—"OPTIMISM OR PESSIMISM?"
JOHN T. KEWISH vs. ERNEST GILBERT

March 9—"DID JESUS EVER LIVE?"
JOHN W. HAWKINS vs. MAJ. JOSEPH WHELESS

Atheism

Catalog of anti-religious books FREE. Tracts, 10c.
American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, Inc.
119 E. 14th Street — *New York, N. Y.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion of limpid and elaborate vacuity was the result of collaboration between the Prokofieff of 1913 and the Prokofieff of 1924. The concerto was lost and ten years later rewritten from sketches. In the interval the composer has been increasingly preoccupied with "neo-classicism," a return to strict older forms. Whatever the cause, the result was disappointing from a man of Prokofieff's caliber.

It may be that in some future golden age all composers will realize that music is a language for conveying emotion, and that if there is none to convey, all the skilful designs of cerebration, all the resources of technique, will not bring the resultant patterns to life, even when animated with the sensitivity and verve which Dr. Koussevitzky brings to his readings.

HUBBARD HUTCHINSON

Drama

The Unruffled Mrs. Tyler

AS Mrs. Austin Tyler, Mrs. Fiske is the singularly serene and passive center about which the other characters in "It's a Grand Life" (Cort Theater) feverishly revolve. She is the eternal adjuster, the husher-up, the conciliator, everlastingly patient, a fountain of unperturbed philosophy. Her husband is the amorous president of a great trust company, too many of whose affairs have become subject matter for the tabloids. We are to understand that one more scandal and the directors will request his resignation. In the first act Tyler is brought home injured in a night automobile accident—in which he has been accompanied by his new lady secretary. Reporters arrive; as is fitting, the reporter from one of the tabloids is a rough, uncouth person, while the New York *Times* representative is a gracious young man in correct evening clothes. Mrs. Tyler consents to see only the *Times* reporter, explains away all the suspicious aspects of the case, presents him with a bottle of chartreuse, and sends him off to write a discreet story.

Complications, however, pile up. Tyler is the presumable father of a boy—born in the next room during the action of the play—whose mother is the wife of an Alabama military man who believes in adjusting such embarrassing tangles with a revolver. There are sub-plots: Mrs. Tyler's daughter has been having an affair with a married man; Mrs. Tyler's son marries a dancer who has had an affair with his father—and always Mrs. Tyler is being very calm and collected, very modern and broad-minded.

"It's a Grand Life" is, for the most part, a successful light comedy. The lines supplied by its authors, Hatcher Hughes and Alan Williams, are always intelligent; some of them are genuinely witty. And Mrs. Fiske, with her usual adroitness, makes what she has to say sound possibly a good deal wittier than it really is.

In "Dishonored Lady" (Empire Theater), based by Margaret Ayer Barnes and Edward Sheldon on the case of Madeline Smith of Glasgow, Katharine Cornell brilliantly portrays a woman who poisons the lover who, through threatened blackmail, has tried to force her to continue their relationship, and to prevent her marriage to the man she loves. The tension and excitement are built up with great skill, and the authors have contrived to have a courtroom scene with the courtroom left out. The play is as thrilling as "The Trial of Mary Dugan."

As you are shown to your seat in the Booth Theater, you are handed a program which professes to be that of the Stadttheater in Vienna, announcing the performance of "Camille." The curtain rises on a stage without scenery, revealing the stage hands playing poker, a scrubwoman cleaning, and so on, and one learns that through a grave mistake neither stage hands nor actors have expected a performance that night. Gregory Ratoff as the stage director then pleads with members of the audience to accept parts in a play to be improvised. A husband (Reginald Owen as Herr Neumann) volunteers with his reluctant wife; someone is asked to play the part of a lover, and the man who accepts turns out, of course, to be the wife's lover in real life. Thereafter the play becomes a very hackneyed version of the eternal triangle, and relies for freshness and humor chiefly on the husband's mistaken belief that the wife and her lover are merely acting. With the English title of "Out of a Blue Sky," the play has been "adapted" by Leslie Howard from the German of Hans Chlumberg. One is left to speculate why German names have been retained for the characters, and why the persons who emerge from a New York audience are all Herr This and Fräulein That.

H. H.

THE first two acts of Donald Ogden Stewart's "Rebound" (Plymouth Theater) offer as swift, amusing, and heart-warming entertainment as has been seen in the theater this winter. Hope Williams, as a clear-headed and unfailingly gallant young woman who marries one young man after having been thoroughly jilted by another, is a joy to watch and hear. For the most part the cast is adequate to Mr. Stewart's slightly insane humor, which is the highest compliment that could be paid them. The second-act curtain, in which a newly-wed husband is two-stepping with his old girl, while his bride watches them and sings the words of the tune they dance to, is comedy in the highest and soundest meaning of the word. And then in the third act things slacken up a good deal and the play ends in a fog of talk about what love is. Not that one need quarrel about what the play says it is, but that the happy ending, in which the pair who married on the rebound find that they really do love each other after all, is considerably less convincing than it should be. When they are merrily or sadly wise-cracking, Miss Williams and Mr. Stewart are a combination hard to beat. They are both, he as playwright, she as actress, masters of the unspoken word, the repressed emotion. It is only when it becomes necessary to reveal the inner heart that they become equally awkward and unsure. The best performance of the evening was that of Robert Williams as Johnnie Coles.

D. V. D.

"City Haul," a play by Elizabeth Miele, portraying a corrupt mayor and the ease with which he gets out of tight places to bid for office again, has now moved from the Hudson Theater to the Eltinge. The play first opened at the Hudson on December 31. Curious stories have been going about New York that the play has been sabotaged by the politicians and ignored by the press. One theater refused to accept it after it was booked; and though Mrs. Harris finally gave it the Hudson, at least one agency decided not to announce the run of the play.

The author's offense is that the corrupt mayor, admirably acted by Herbert Rawlinson, has been made up to look remarkably like Mayor Walker, even to the amazing and frequently changed clothes and the boutonnière. Had he been represented as a tough-looking Westerner no politician would have cared. The play is sparkling and amusing; it is skilfully put together with clever and even sensational situations ending quite unexpectedly. It marches well and, though the mayor is incredibly base and his daughter's love story entirely conventional, the play was well worth writing and presenting. Both for its courage and its dramatic qualities it deserves a considerable run.

O. G. V.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THEATRES — FILMS

City Haul

By ELIZABETH MIELE

with HERBERT RAWLINSON

A COMEDY ON MUNICIPAL POLITICS

ELTINGE THEATRE, 42nd St., West of B'dway.
Evenings 8:50. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday 2:30.

LEO BULGAKOV
THEATRE ASSOCIATES, INC., presents

AT THE BOTTOM

by MAXIM GORKY
New version by William L. Laurence
Phone reservations accepted—Circle 1407

"Really worth seeing."—*Brown, Post.*

"A fine play"—*Mantle, News.*

WALDORF THEATRE—50th St., Bet. 6th & 7th Aves. Eve., 8:40
MATINEES Wednesday and Saturday, 2:40

Kenneth Macgowan and J. V. Reed present

BASIL SYDNEY *and* MARY ELLIS *in* CHILDREN *of* DARKNESS

by Edwin Justus Mayer, author of *"The Firebrand"*

BILTMORE THEATRE—47th Street, West of Broadway
Evenings, 8:50—Mats., Wed. and Sat., 2:40.

CIVIC REPERTORY

14th St.—6th Ave.
Evenings, 8:30.

50c, $1, 1.50. Matinees Thursdays and Saturdays, 2:30.
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director
Fri.Eve.,Feb.21, "The Cherry Orchard," Sat.Mat.,Feb.22, "Peter Pan," Sat.Eve.,Feb.22, "The Open Door" & "Women Have Their Way," Mon.Eve.,Feb.24, "The Sea Gull," Tues.Eve.,Feb.25, "Mlle. Bourrat," Wed.Eve.,Feb.26, "The Cradle Song," Thurs.Mat.,Feb.27, "The Cradle Song," Thurs. Eve.,Feb.27, "The Open Door" & "Women Have Their Way."
Seats 4 weeks in advance at Box Office & Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St.

WILLIAM HARRIS, JR., PRESENTS

"THE FIRST PLAY OF THE SEASON WITH TEETH IN IT."
ROBERT LITTELL, WORLD.

CRIMINAL CODE

By MARTIN FLAVIN with ARTHUR BYRON

NATIONAL THEATRE 41st St., West of 7th Ave. Evenings 8:50
Matinees Wednesdays & Saturdays, 2:30

ETHEL BARRYMORE Theatre, 47th St., West of Broadway
Evenings 8:50; Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

LEE SHUBERT Presents

PHILIP MERIVALE
IN
DEATH TAKES A HOLIDAY
A COMEDY ABOUT LIFE

The Actor-Managers, Inc., has the honor to present

RUTH DRAPER

in her ORIGINAL CHARACTER SKETCHES

Evenings: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, 8:50.
COMEDY THEATRE, 41st East of Broadway. Mats. Thurs. and Sat., 2:30. VERY GOOD SEATS at $1.00

IS LIQUOR A MYTH?

THE ONLY WAY TO REALLY KNOW IS TO SEE

EVERYTHING'S JAKE!

THE RIP-ROARING ALCOHOLIC COMEDY
by DON MARQUIS

"GOOD, ROBUST FUN"—*N. Y. Times*—"A RIOT"—*Beachley, New Yorker*
ASSEMBLY Theater, 39th St., E. of Bway. Eves. at 9. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 3

GRACE GEORGE

In the ST. JOHN ERVINE Comedy
"FIRST MRS. FRASER
with A. E. Matthews and Lawrence Grossmith
PLAYHOUSE 48th St. East of Broadway. Eves., 8:40
Mats. Wed., Thurs. and Sat., 2:30
EXTRA MATINEE EVERY THURSDAY UNTIL JUNE 15
Matinee Every Day during Easter Week.

The Theatre Guild Presents

METEOR

By S. N. BEHRMAN

Guild THEA., 52nd St. W. of Broadway
Evgs. 8:50. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

"REBOUND"

With HOPE WILLIAMS

"This is the best light comedy written by anybody hereabouts in ten or twenty years, and it's not so damned light, either."—*Heywood Broun, New York Telegram.*

ARTHUR HOPKINS presents
DONALD OGDEN STEWART'S COMEDY
Plymouth Theatre. Eves. 8:50; Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:40.

HERMAN SHUMLIN presents

THE LAST MILE

A new drama by John Wexley
Directed by Chester Erskin. Settings by Henry Dreyfuss
SAM H. HARRIS Theatre 42nd St. W. of Broadway
Eves. 8:50. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

MATINEES: GOOD SEATS, ALL PRICES, AT BOX OFFICE

WARNER BROS. Present

GEORGE ARLISS

in

"DISRAELI"

(A Vitaphone All-Talking Picture)

CENTRAL THEATRE Broadway and 47th St.
Daily 2:45—8:45
Sunday 3—6—8:45

ART EXHIBIT

EXHIBITION

WOODCUTS and LITHOGRAPHS
BY ELLSWORTH FORD
February 18th to March 1st, 1930

THE FIFTY-SIXTH STREET GALLERIES
6 East Fifty-Sixth Street

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forced Labor in Liberia

CHARGES of forced labor and slavery in Liberia have been so persistent in recent years that a commission was named in August, 1929, to investigate conditions there. The commission consists of three persons, one each appointed by the League of Nations, the United States government, and the Liberian government. The American representative, Dr. Charles S. Johnson, a professor at Fisk University, has lately gone to Liberia, and it is understood that the commission will start its inquiry some time in the spring. We print herewith a letter of protest and appeal to the League of Nations which describes the alleged conditions of native laborers in Liberia. It is signed by Thomas J. R. Faulkner, citizen of Liberia, who was a candidate for the presidency of Liberia in 1927. He was defeated by the present incumbent, Charles King. His letter, addressed to the League of Nations on June 20, 1929, and not hitherto printed, is as follows:

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND, Secretary-General
League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

SIR: It is because of my great interest in the native people of Liberia that I attempt, through you, to approach the League of Nations in behalf of these people and to protest the treatment they are at present subjected to.

The natives of Liberia are forced to work on the roads under the following conditions:

1. They are forced to work nine months of the year.
2. They are compelled to furnish their own tools.
3. They receive no compensation whatever for roadwork.
4. They are compelled to furnish their own food.
5. They are compelled to furnish food, i.e., rice and palm-oil, to the commissioner and to the soldiers who act as overseers.
6. Upon failure of the chief of a tribe to supply the demanded number of men, he is at once heavily fined and forced to pay cash forthwith or go to jail. Often these men are compelled to pawn their wives and children to get the money to pay these fines.
7. For the most trivial thing the laborers are fined small sums and forced to pay in cash, which is quite an impossibility. They often have to sell their food, which they have brought long distances, to get the money to meet these fines.
8. It is said that men on the roads are whipped so severely that they die from the injuries, but because high officials are implicated it has never been possible to get a report of the facts. The natives, of course, are afraid to inform against these powerful men.

As a result of this system of forced labor, the natives are leaving the country in large numbers. Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell, whose writings on Liberia are in every detail correct, speaks briefly of this fact in his work, "The Native Problem in Africa." Coupled with this condition of forced labor in Liberia, is the even more pernicious practice of shipping laborers to the island of Fernando Po. This is carried on by and through the high officials of the Liberian government, and it is therefore impossible to ask the courts, the legislature, or any other official agency to interfere, since all are creatures of the President and will not attempt to act. Thus this traffic in human beings goes on with impunity. The inducement to force the natives out of the country lies in the sum paid by the farmers of Fernando Po —£10 ($50) for each boy. This money is divided among the official classes of Liberia, and the poor native is without redress.

The legislature endeavored to put a stop to this shipment of laborers out of Liberia, but the counties of Sino and Maryland refused to be included in the law, since the Vice-President and Postmaster-General are the shipping agents from those counties, and the President is a party to the transaction.

Thus the law fell short of its final object and affected only the counties of Cape Mount, Grand Basa, and Montserrado. But even in these three counties the law is evaded. The shipping agents, whose names I mention below, ship boys from these counties as passengers to Sino, whence they are reshipped to Fernando Po. This is open violation of the law, yet it cannot be stopped. For the county of Maryland the Hon. Allen C. Yancy, Vice-President of Liberia, is the appointed shipping agent.

On one occasion, the native African Commissioner-General, the Hon. Reginald G. Sherman, on an official visit to the county of Sino saw the frontier soldiers being used to catch and detain boys for shipment to Fernando Po. He at once put a stop to it and reported it to the President. Mr. Sherman was immediately dismissed for his pains, and the shipping goes merrily on against the interest of the farmers of Liberia, as well as the Firestone Plantation works. Also, as stated above, this is fast depopulating the country, interfering with the getting of produce and the production of food products for the populace of the country.

The principal reason for my appeal to the League of Nations is that this condition of affairs cannot much longer exist in Liberia without resulting in bloodshed. President King feels that he is so well fortified as President of Liberia that he is immune from harm or influence in his demeanor as a self-instituted dictator of the little republic. Therefore I take this method in an attempt to prevent that which is sure to come if the League of Nations, of which Liberia is a member, does not in a friendly way interpose and stop this oppression of the native people—that is, a bloody fight or a revolution.

I would, if permitted, make this suggestion: Let the representatives at Monrovia of the nations who are members of the League be requested to make a report on the statements that I have made—as to their truthfulness and correctness—and then take such action as you deem best suited to give to the natives the relief we ask.

[Signed] THOMAS J. R. FAULKNER

Labor conditions in Liberia are of special interest to Americans because of the large amount of American capital invested there. The Firestone company, for instance, has extensive rubber plantations in Liberia. Raymond Leslie Buell, writing in *The Nation* of May 2, 1928, has this to say concerning the agreement between the Firestone company and the Liberian government by means of which the former is assisted in maintaining an uninterrupted supply of labor:

One article of the Firestone Planting Agreement frankly provides that the Liberian government will "encourage and assist the efforts of the lessee to secure and maintain an adequate labor supply." The government has already established a labor bureau to furnish the . . . men. According to the Negro head of this bureau, Mr. Firestone pays to the government and the chiefs for each man recruited one cent per day. While there is no enactment obliging the men to work, the order of the chief is, in fact, law and few dare disobey it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP WANTED

BEGINNING October, 1930, wanted man or woman as group teacher for 9-year olds in country experimental school. Experience required. Ability to teach science desirable, interest in creative teaching essential. Box 2309, % *The Nation.*

POSITIONS WANTED

YOUNG woman desires position, lawyer, secretary, legal experience, author's secretary, managed bookshop and commercial office. Box 2310, % *The Nation.*

I AM an unusual person and desire a part time secretarial position for an unusual personality! Box 2312, % *The Nation.*

YOUNG woman, expert typing: manuscripts, letters, etc. Reasonable rates. Charlotte Lehrman, 2704 University Ave. Bronx. Griswold 4797.

YOUNG man, 25, Columbia M.A. (history); at present employed as instructor in Latin and German in preparatory school, and successful, seeks immediate position teaching. Will consider opening for 1930-31. Box 2314, % *The Nation.*

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISERS:

Mail your classified ads so they reach us Friday, to insure their appearance in the issue of THE NATION on the stands the following Thursday.

Rates: Minimum ½ inch (30 words)...$3.08
Each addition 6 words..... .62

Please accompany order with remittance.

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York City
Fitzroy 9074

OPEN SHELF

THAT BOOK YOU WANT! We hold 2,000,000 of the best books—new, second-hand, out-of-print, rare—all subjects. Also Sets of Authors. Catalogues free (25 issued). Outline requirements and interests. Books sent on approval. FOYLES, Charing Cross Rd., London, Eng.

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS
Wanted—Let us publish your book. The best service at lowest cost. MEADOR PUBLISHING CO., 27 Beach St., Boston, Mass.

ATHEISM
Book catalog FREE. Tracts, 10c.
Am. Assn. for Adv. of Atheism,
119 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

PAINTINGS

Paintings for disposal by private treaty
ZUCARILLI
Also Sporting Painting
The Kill, by MORRIS
And two portraits
The Duke of Wellington
and Lord Somerset
For further particulars please write to
J. R. Bromwich,
No. 4 Sandringham Court,
London, W., England.

LAW

ROBERTO HABERMAN
Counselor in Mexican Law
10 West 10th Street, New York City
Gramercy 3759

New Viewpoints on the Naval Conference

America's NAVAL CHALLENGE

By Frederick Moore

The fundamentals underlying the naval conference are analyzed in this book by a correspondent of international reputation, who is thoroughly conversant with British and American naval policies and programs and presents them in a new light. $1.50

The Macmillan Co. New York

SHOPPERS' CORNER

MARITZA—of 172 West 4th Street—is having an anniversary sale. Wonderful assortment of dresses, blouses, hats, Russian smocks, Russian pajamas, and shirts for men. Orders taken at sale prices.

THE JEWS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA

BY LAURIE MAGNUS

A mighty work by one of the most distinguished living Jewish scholars, showing the great Jewish contribution to the Christian Era and the object of Christian civilization to develop this heritage. $5.00

E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 300-4th Ave., New York City
(*Publishers since 1852*)

THE TALK OF THE TOWN

Is our newly opened Health Food Luncheonette, where the most fastidious and elite in matters gastronomic are fully satisfied—both in regards to taste and nourishment. Only the freshest and best of foodstuffs and no processed products nor injurious ingredients are used.

Come with your friends and join the increasing host of our enthusiastic patrons. Open every day until midnight, including Sunday and holidays.

HEALTH FOODS DISTRIBUTORS
45 East 34th Street (Between Madison and Park Aves.)
New York City

LONDON—A MILESTONE?

The Disarmament Conference in London may well be the most significant event of the present century.

Important decisions may be taken by the principal nations of the world bringing the dream of idealists for centuries—a condition of world peace—close to accomplishment.

The Manchester Guardian
WEEKLY

will give a sympathetic and, what is more important, an accurate and unbiased account of this epoch-making conference.

At all times The Manchester Guardian Weekly keeps its readers advised of progress in international affairs.

To leaders of intelligence in more than sixty countries, it is a constant source of reliable information on all important world happenings and a faithful guide in keeping their viewpoint on vital events, clear and unprejudiced.

MAIL THIS COUPON

The Manchester Guardian Weekly,
222 West 42nd Street,
New York City.

Gentlemen:
Enclosed please find $3.00 for which send THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY for one year to the below address.

Name .....

Address .....

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

SONAQUA CLUB
Lake Mohegan, N. Y.

The Haven for Sport Lovers. Ideal for recreation and relaxation. Convenient for week-ends. Only 45 miles from New York.

Sports Skating, Hiking, Skiing, Tobogganing. Special program for Washington's Birthday Weekend.

For reservations call Peekskill 1276

THE LAKE VIEW
SILVER & CAMEN
Surpassing Accommodations
Atmosphere of Refinement
Excellent Cuisine
Moderate Rates
59 Madison Ave. Phone Lakewood 287
Lakewood - New Jersey

RUSTIC Beauty for your relaxation and recreation, convenient for week ends. 1½ hours from Grand Central. Skating, Skiing and tobogganing.
HIL-BERT HOUSE, Lake Mahopac, N. Y.
Hill Friedberg, Prop. Tel. Mahopac 353

FOR A WINTER VACATION

Complete rest and rebuilding, in delightful country. Invigorating outdoor life. Winter Sports. Saddle horses.
Only 1½ hours from New York.

TOPSTONE FARM
IN THE CONNECTICUT HILLS
Write: R.F.D. 4, Ridgefield, Conn.
Telephone: Ridgefield 648

BEAUTIFUL country, hills, pinegroves, wonderful views; home-like atmosphere; finest food; skating and other sports; 1½ hours by Erie R. R. or route 17.

ZINDOREST PARK
Monroe, N. Y. Phone 122 F 8

UNITY HOUSE
FOREST PARK, PA.
Open all year. Modern accommodations
Skating on private mile and a half Lake. Tobogganing, Sleighing and Skiing on premises.
Make reservation—New York Office
Chelsea 2148 3 West 16th St.
Owned by International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Operated on non-profit basis.

New! HOTEL BELMONT
At the highest point of Lakewood, N.J.
Come!
Interesting People.
Delicious Food.
Most every room with bath.
REASONABLE RATES
Phone Lakewood 667
Weissberger - H. H. Oxman

BOARDERS WANTED

IS there any one who would like to spend the summer on a farm, 30 miles from N. Y. Commuting very easy. For more information, write 12 Pinehurst Ave., Apt. 3 F, N. Y. C.

FOR RENT

FURNISHED ROOMS

Manhattan Beach Hotel
Manhattan Beach, N. Y. C.

LIVE in a modern fireproof hotel by the seashore for less than in the crowded city—$5.00 per week and up for one; $12.00 per week and up for two. All hotel services included. Tennis and handball courts. 37 minutes from Times Square (B.M.T. Brighton Beach Station). Phone Sheepshead 8000.

CULTURED Russian woman will rent room. Piano. Meals. Reasonable rates. Susquehanna 7977.

FURNISHED OR UNFURNISHED ROOMS

FURNISHED or unfurnished—1, 2, or 3 rooms, kitchenette and private bath, arranged to suit tenant. In Doctor's private house. Rent reasonable. All accommodations. References. 67 W. 119th St., N. Y. C.

APARTMENTS TO LEASE

4 ROOM apartment in Chelsea, accessible from any part of town, unobstructed air and sunlight, from 3 exposures. Kitchen with electric refrigeration. Unfurnished; until October or longer. $90. Will consider any offer. Watkins 3299.

WALK 2 minutes—ride 8 minutes—fare 6c, from Journal Square home in modern elevator apartment to downtown office. ONE to SIX ROOMS. Owner management, 46 Jones St., Jersey City, N. J.

CHARMING one-room kitchenette apartment, completely furnished, suitable for couple, centrally located, walk to theatre—shops. Sublet April to October. $100. Unfurnished if desired, $80. Eames, 25 Prospect Place, N. Y. C.

HIKE TOURS

HIKING TOURS
over little known Catskill Mountain trails—conducted by Dyrus and Edith Cook. Five-day trips. Small parties. Comfortable beds in the open. Camp-fire cooking. Pack-animal for toting. Write for particulars. Box 353, Woodstock, N. Y.

PERSONAL

YOUNG woman (writer) planning trip to Europe early Spring would like to communicate with intelligent young woman contemplating same. One with sense of adventure who prefers travelling to touring. Box 2313, % *The Nation.*

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

PARTNER WANTED

FOREIGN art and Publishing Book Business. Established for ten years. College person, Christian preferred. State qualifications and available capital. Box 2311, % *The Nation.*

WOULD like to hear from parties who would be interested in a cooperative poultry farm. Write Box 2316, % *The Nation.*

EDUCATIONAL

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
PROGRAM—Feb. 21-March 1, AT COOPER UNION, 8th Street and Astor Place, at 8 o'clock.
Admission Free.

Friday, Feb. 21
DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PROGRESS
The Arts as Determinants of Trends in Civilization.
ETHICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
Sunday, Feb. 23
DR. MORTIMER J. ADLER
Eddington: Nature of the Physical World.
NATURAL SCIENCE
Tuesday, Feb. 25
DR. GARDNER MURPHY
Maturity.

MUHLENBERG BRANCH LIBRARY
209 West 23rd St., at 8:30 o'clock.
Monday, Feb. 24
MR. NATHANIEL PEFFER
China: A Civilization in Disintegration. Reaction: China Reasserts Itself; Imperialism in Liquidation.
Wednesday, Feb. 26
DR. JOHN BARTLETT BREBNER
Literature as Social History. The Englishman Italianate Is the Devil Incarnate.
Thursday, Feb. 27
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
The Ways and Means of Reasoning. Reasoning in Mathematics: Continuity, Variables, Dimensions.
Saturday, March 1
DR. V. J. McGILL
Phenomenology.—"Phenomenology: The Science of Sciences."

THE BOOK YOU NEED

To help you study 5 Languages: English, French, Spanish, German, Italian (Five-in-One), containing 5,000 practical words attractively arranged. Price only $1.50. Limited supply. Order yours today. Universal Institute (D 10), 1265 Lexington Ave., New York.

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, GERMAN, ENGLISH

Conversational method. Native teachers. Private lessons, 75c, short course, 9 to 9 daily. 18th year.
FISHER'S SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1264 Lexington Avenue, N. W. Cor. 85th Street

FRENCH INSTRUCTION

SUCCESSFUL modern instruction suited to ability and needs. Individually or small homogeneous group educated persons by professional young native university graduate. Evenings. Rate fair depending on kind and length of lessons. Box 2315, % *The Nation.*

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP
A Clearing House of Opinion
meets at Auditorium—150 West 85th St.
Tuesday, February 25th, at 8:30 P. M.
PROF. SCOTT NEARING
will speak on:
"WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?"
Admission 50c Organized 1918

KINDERGARTEN SCHOOL

NOAH'S ARK
A year-round home and kindergarten school conducted on modern principles. 56 acres on Croton Lake. Varied activities. *Children of all ages accommodated for weekends.* Railroad Station: Harmon, N. Y. For information communicate with Erika Feist, R.F.D. 15, Yorktown Heights, N. Y. Telephone Yorktown 46 F-3.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hail to the Furies!

IN the issue of last January 8, *The Nation's* subscription advertisement intimated that the United States is soon to experience a great political awakening—indeed, that the seeds of the new force have already begun to sprout.

Though we had little in the way of evidence to point out above ground, we said in effect that in the teeming darkness below the surface there are signs of an activity that bodes ill for the two vitiated and now characterless parties which so long have controlled the ways of government and divided the spoils of office.

Now chance and President Hoover have provided a major manifestation in support of that thesis. The Senate uprising against the appointment of Charles Evans Hughes to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, the size of the vote polled against his confirmation, and the determined challenges which the dissenting Senators have since continued to level at the character of recent important decisions of the Court indicate the climbing temper of insurgency and its increasing ability to marshal votes on basic and crucial issues.

There remains today no essential difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic. So far as any effect upon the course of government is concerned, they are one. But against them and out of their own midst a new insurgency is rising.

To become effective, this insurgency must be concerted and directed. All the major progressive elements throughout the country, now dislocated because of slight differences of aim and due to lack of nationwide cooperation, must be welded together in a new political party, with universal and clearly outlined purposes and ideals.

This vital work *The League for Independent Political Action,* with an imposing group of men as its founders and serving on its National Committee, has undertaken to promote. Its purpose is to act as a clearing house to facilitate the formation of a new political party capable of concerted action in city, state, and national elections. It is already making substantial headway. *The Nation* reader who will not want to join in the support of this movement is the exception.

All who join The League *before June 1, 1930, will be enrolled as Charter Members among the founders of the movement.* League *membership dues are $2. But by special arrangement we are enabled to offer a one-year subscription to* The Nation *($5) together with a* Charter Membership *in* The League *at the reduced combination rate of only $6. Quick action is important.*

"No discouragements of the past should blind us to the fact that the Republican-Democratic alliance can never endure. Both have become the political expressions of the great business groups. Critical constructive opposition is our greatest need. The solution rests in a new political alignment whereby economic liberals will leave the old parties and unite to build up a new party based on the principle of increasing social control."

—*From the prospectus of The League for Independent Political Action.*

THE NATION 20 Vesey St. New York

The enclosed $6.00 is to cover a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and a Charter Membership in *The League for Independent Political Action.*

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

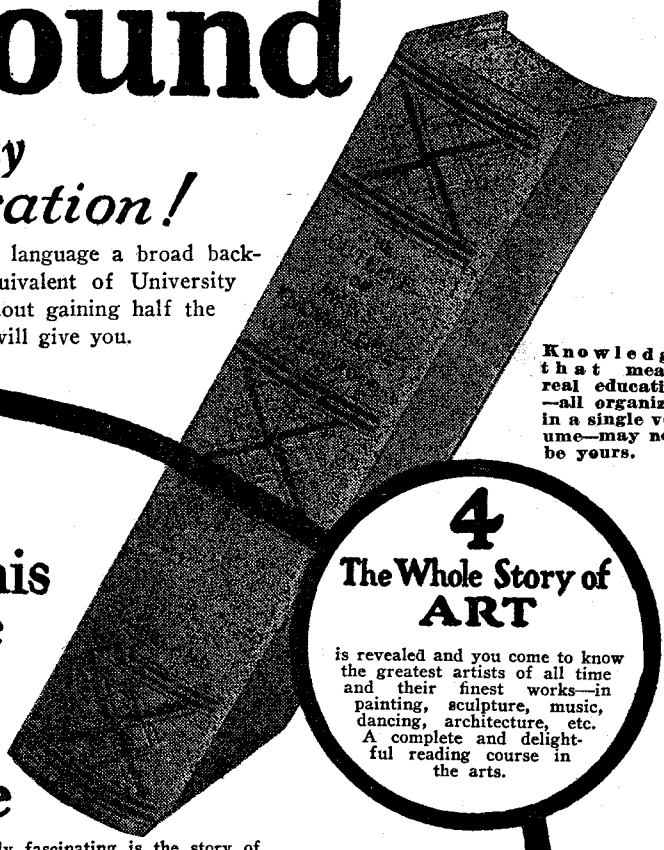
2-26-30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's YOUR College Background

The Quickest, Surest, Easiest Way To Acquire a Cultured Education!

In this SINGLE VOLUME there is offered you in simple language a broad background of cultural knowledge in all fields that is the equivalent of University training. Many a man has spent four years in college without gaining half the practical and cultural education this one extraordinary book will give you.



Knowledge that means real education—all organized in a single volume—may now be yours.

1
The Whole Story of HISTORY
passes before your eyes in a dramatic pageant starting with primitive man and revealing every epoch up to the present day. It makes you familiar with every great figure and event of the past.

2
The Whole Story of SCIENCE
is told and its mysteries solved in a thrilling demonstration of astronomy, biology, chemistry, physics, sex, psychology, and every other science. Everything is simply told for easy understanding.

3
The Whole Story of LITERATURE
to make you at home with the greatest writers and the greatest works in all the world of letters from the Egyptian hieroglyphs to the novels of Dreiser and to reveal the romance of literary history.

Endorsed by Authorities

In Thrilling Story Form this One Volume Covers All Cultural Knowledge

You can never know how completely fascinating is the story of man's knowledge until you read *The Outline of Man's Knowledge* by Clement Wood. In a narrative style as gripping as any romance, each of the main branches of knowledge is presented in a sparkling story that is wonderfully entertaining and easy to remember.

SIX Outlines in ONE Volume

Sections covering *History, Science, Literature, Art, Religion* and *Philosophy*. A tremendous range of knowledge, yet each of the six outlines is thorough and complete. Each section presents the essence of a four-year college course in its field, and the whole book offers a liberal education through a few minutes of reading daily—the easiest, the most effective, the most lasting, the most interesting method of self-education.

Will You Read It *At Our Expense* And Judge for *Yourself?*

Perhaps it is hard for you to believe that the cream of the world's knowledge can be yours in a single volume. You must see the book for yourself. And because we know that the reading of a few pages will convince you. we want to place the volume in your hands, without obligation or expense to you, for a week's free trial. Within seven days, either return it and owe nothing or remit the small price on the easy terms shown in the coupon. Send for it now.

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

LEWIS COPELAND COMPANY, Dept. 113
119 West 57th St., New York City

Kindly send me THE OUTLINE OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE, by Clement Wood. 700 pages, illustrated, handsomely bound. Within 7 days I will either return the book or remit $1.50 as first payment, and then $2.00 per month for two months, a total of $5.50. (Ten per cent discount for cash with order. Same return privilege.)

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... *State* .....

If outside continental U. S., send $5.50 with order

4
The Whole Story of ART
is revealed and you come to know the greatest artists of all time and their finest works—in painting, sculpture, music, dancing, architecture, etc. A complete and delightful reading course in the arts.

5
The Whole Story of RELIGION
A dramatic romance tracing religion from its primitive beginnings, though its strange evolution into the many faiths of mankind, and revealing the personalities back of all the great religious movements.

6
The Whole Story of PHILOSOPHY
No longer forbidden and mysterious ground, for you now learn the real meaning of philosophy and follow in a sparkling story the lives and teachings of the thinkers who have influenced the life of mankind.

Praised by the Press

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED